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THE JESUIT EPIC IN MID-AMERICA *

In 1939 we sit down with three bulky volumes in our hands. It is a monumental work entitled *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* by the well-known historian, Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. They are old books in the sense that all history is a record of the past. To be specific, Father Gilbert tells us the story of the Jesuit activities in the territory now covered by the St. Louis and Chicago provinces of the Society of Jesus from 1823 to the present day. These books are singular in the variety of their contents. All in all, they read like novels, or great dramas, or epics, which they really are. There is scarcely a department of natural science and ethnology and church life which does not find some of its data recognized in the chapters of these intriguing volumes.

Father Garraghan throws fascinating moving pictures on the screen: the vast valleys of the mighty Mississippi, of the beautiful Ohio and of the long reaches of the muddy Missouri; their many tributaries, large and small, without bridges, of course; extensive prairies, endless forests, hills low and high, and the awe-inspiring Rockies; towns that have since grown into large cities, but more commonly little villages of settlers newly arrived; isolated farms and clusters of smoking wigwams; Indians of many tribes and buffalo herds and trail blazers and pioneers and all the trappings and trimmings of frontier life. Into such a Middle West, still

* Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Ph.D., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*. Three volumes. New York, America Press, 1938.

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primitive and quite primeval, enter the actors of the dramas (and there are many actors and dramas)—the Jesuits of the middle United States. The first group comprises Fathers Van Quickenborne and Timmermans and seven young novices. Although the story begins only a little more than one hundred years ago and in the very country in which we live, yet the greatest contrast exists between the age and the land in which we live and the period and the lands in which Father Garraghan's volumes found their beginning and their material.

To one familiar only with American life as we live it in 1939; to one traveling through the Middle-West in a streamlined automobile on a modern hard road, seeing the many large cities, the thousands of neat-looking towns and villages and the hundreds of thousands of farm houses and farm buildings, the thousands of beautiful churches, Catholic schools, colleges and institutions of learning and charity, and (as many do not do) giving no thought how all this developed, the everyday events recorded by Father Garraghan seem fabulous. It is largely the record of zealous priests (some learned and some not so learned, some prudent and others less prudent) in quest of immortal souls, but it is a record that is very human: motivated by supernatural ideals, unselfish and cultured human agents, devoted and consecrated to the work of the Master, out to do His work among human beings, some savages, others removed in various degrees from that low grade of civilization, some indifferent and even positively bad, and some edifyingly good, but all having immortal souls that must be saved. This interesting record tells how the Fathers came, what they did, how they lived, what they endured and suffered, and what they achieved. It is a great record full of history, of geography, of Indian stories, of early settlers and settlements, of doctrine and of many other things. They are books that every priest and many of our Catholic laity should read.

As we sit in 1939 and read these fascinating stories, it is well for us to remember that we need look back only a hundred years and that we are able to look on those very lands today that gave us these records. Unfortunately, there remain only a few buildings that testify of those days: Fort De Chartres, a few houses in St. Genevieve

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and Prairie du Rocher and Holy Family Church, Cahokia, the oldest parish that has uninterrupted existence since 1698. Through the mists of earth, these missionaries, like their predecessors from Father Marquette and the Fathers of the Seminarie de Quebec onward, saw the splendors of heaven, in promise at least. Quite naturally, the author reaches back to the times of Fathers Marquette, Isaac Jogues, and many other Jesuit missionaries and martyrs. But their history has been told again and again and so our author is content to give us just a mere glimpse of their work. We are also reminded that the Society of Jesus was suppressed in the year 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, chiefly because of the powerful and unholy pressure of bad princes and kings and of their anti-clerical ministers. This suppression, every one will concede, was a major tragedy in the history of the Church. It had particularly dire consequences in the mission lands. The work of the Jesuit missionaries, so auspiciously begun by St. Francis Xavier in 1542 and carried on most successfully by other Jesuit missionaries for a long time, was suddenly laid in ruins. Paradoxically enough, of all countries, Orthodox Russia would not permit the promulgation of the papal decree suppressing the Society of Jesus. It thus retained a corporate existence in that eastern and schismatical land, and through it formed a sort of life line, connecting the old Society that had been with the new Society that was restored in 1814.

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In Maryland there had been surviving up to 1805 a few Jesuits of the suppressed Society, who had up to then lived either in retirement or as seculars. They had come to know of the unbroken existence of the Society in Russia. There were five of these survivors. They got together and applied for affiliation with the Russian Province of the Society of Jesus. Their petition was granted, they renewed the ancient vows and began again a corporate existence in the United States. It was this little group that in the course of time gave us Georgetown University and many other eastern establishments. They advertised for novices in Europe and then in 1823 they found themselves with a number of young men on their hands and did not know how to support them or what to do with them.

At this time there appeared upon the perplexed scene in Baltimore the figure of the saintly Monseigneur Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, that is, of all that territory which the United States purchased from Napoleon in 1803—almost half the entire United States of today. Direly in need of priests and helpers in his vast field, he bethought himself of the Jesuits in Maryland. If he could only get them into his diocese then many of his problems would be solved. Coming upon the strange situation of the Maryland Jesuits, who at the time did not know what to do with their novices, he felt there might be a solution. Du Bourg who was a good diplomat, corresponded with the State Department in Washington and received from the then Secretary of State, Mr. Calhoun, the assurance of financial aid, provided these Jesuits would undertake the civilization of the Indian tribes living along the shores of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. However, neither Bishop Du Bourg nor the Jesuits had taken into account that there might be opposition to this plan on the part of Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore. He had need of men in his own diocese and was, therefore, loathe to permit any Jesuit candidates to slip away from him. There was as a result a fine ecclesiastical duel on the Maryland stage between the two bishops. Bishop Du Bourg was the better fencer and Marechal used the broad battle-ax. Du Bourg won, and now the story of the Jesuits of the Middle United States really begins.

In April, 1823, two Jesuit Fathers and seven novices set out from Baltimore for Florissant, Missouri, a settlement of whites in the triangle formed by the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. They hired rigs to take them to Wheeling, West Virginia. But the roads were so abominable that every hour at least one or the other cart upset. Riding was so rough that everybody preferred to walk and let the rigs carry only the baggage. For a week they trudged along until they reached the Ohio river. Here they constructed a large raft and hired a pilot to take them down the river. It was a harum-scarum trip and it is a miracle they survived. One night Father Van Quickenborne stood on the prow of the raft swinging a huge firebrand as warning to an up-coming steamer. "We can't avoid hitting you", came from the steamer. Acts of contrition and resignation to a watery grave in the Ohio

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were made. Somehow, they were not hit. For days they had been living on the merest nothings. Suddenly, a deer swam across the river right in front of the raft. Venison for the next meal! Father Van with several of the novices jump into the skiff they carry. In a few moments they are upon the deer. A novice stretches out his hands to catch the antlers. "Hold on, he'll drag us down and upset the boat," shouts Father Van. The deer swims on, reaches the shore, disappears, and our travelers look disappointed and bedraggled. Finally the party arrived at Shawnnee Town, where they abandoned the raft. Waving and beating branches of trees about their heads to keep the mosquitoes from devouring them, they followed the old Shawnnee Town trail to Kaskaskia. From thence they proceeded to their destination.

The Fathers had expected things to be in fairly good shape at Florissant. Bishop Du Bourg had deeded a farm over to the Jesuits. But there was a tenant on the farm who held a lease that would not expire for several years, and the Jesuits had no money. Good Mother Duchesne of the Religious of the Sacred Heart had a house there which she occupied with her nuns. Of her poverty she gave to the Jesuits and thus they were momentarily relieved of their difficulty. The obstinate tenant finally yielded the farm on promise of future compensation. The Jesuits may have come to work in the vineyard of the Lord, but the first they had to do at Florissant was farm work. It was a question of work or starve. A year passed by and the most important event of that year was the death of Father Timmermans, thus leaving Father Van Quickenborne as the only priest with his so-called novices. Strange as it may seem, he himself was really not a full-fledged Jesuit. He had joined the Society as a secular priest, made his novitiate and his simple vows, but had not gone through the tertianship and in fact had not become very thoroughly familiar with Jesuit life and Jesuit standards. It is conceded that he was not an ideal superior. He lacked tact, sympathy for the shortcomings of others and just about everything that a first-class Jesuit should have. Of all the incompetent men doing the most impossible things, Father Van (as he is generally referred to) takes the first place. He stalks, a veritable giant, over the planks of that early mission stage. Poor

in health, not much of a builder, he has to build houses and barns. Not a farmer, he has to do farming on a rather large scale. Not a theologian, he has seven young men on his hands whom he must train for the priesthood. No lover of slaves, he happens to be the owner of quite a number of them. Having been somewhat of a teacher, he now becomes pastor of many parishes: St. Ferdinand (Florissant), St. Charles, Portage Des Sioux and Dardenne—all in the immediate neighborhood. Although St. Ignatius had declined the direction of convents of nuns, Father Van becomes the chaplain of the Sacred Heart nuns. In addition to all that, he is in charge of all the Indian tribes for hundreds of miles on both sides of the Missouri to the north west, and of those on the Mississippi northward. He starts a boarding school for Indian boys and takes over the spiritual charge of a least one school for girls operated by the Religious of the Sacred Heart. He travels thousands of miles a year to visit white settlers in Missouri and Illinois.

The Jesuits attempted mission settlements among the Kickapoo Indians and at Council Bluffs. Several times a year the Indians received their pay from the Government for lands sold to it farther east. On the same day unscrupulous whites would come up the river with a cargo of bad whiskey. The temptation was too strong and the inevitable drunken orgies followed such as are recorded in all their horror all through the dealings of white scoundrels with Indians. The missionaries were helpless and both missions were abandoned after a few years of heart-breaking attempts. Bishop Du Bourg placed the Jesuits in charge of all the vast territory drained by the Missouri river. He had made an agreement with them before they came out west. This agreement should have been ratified, it seems, by the General in Rome and also by the Holy Father. For some reason it was never ratified, but even if it had been sanctioned it would have been useless, for no religious Order could have fulfilled all the obligations it entailed. In 1823, there were but few settlements in the west. Beginning with the thirties, however, there came a veritable swarm of immigrants both to Illinois and to Missouri. To mention only a few of the settlements that later grew to stability and importance, we find along the banks of the Missouri: St. Charles, Washington, Portland, French Village,

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Jefferson City, Westphalia, Columbia, Booneville, Kansas City, St. Joseph and others. Northward on the Missouri side of the Mississippi we have Troy, Alexandria, Louisville, Bowling Green, Louisiana, New London, Palmyra and others. On the Illinois side there were Edwardsville, Alton, Springfield, Quincy and others. In their earlier days they were visited by the Jesuits from Florissant. In their reports to their superiors the visiting missionaries always go into great detail. That is why the reader of *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* learns much about all these places, their founders, early pursuits, formation of parishes, and so forth. The author has made excellent use of these early reports. They make his story vivid, accurate and interesting. In 1837, Father Van Quickenborne died at the age of fifty, but he had done the work of a dozen men for fourteen long years. He would have made a worthy companion to that other great Jesuit pioneer missionary, Father Kino, the padre on horseback, who worked among the Indians of Lower California, northern Mexico, New Mexico and Arizona for twenty-four years after 1680.

If in the earlier days the Florissant Jesuits were not very successful in their work with the Indians, they achieved all the greater success among the white settlers who were taking up land in these parts. After all, as one of them said, a white soul is as precious as a red one; all cannot be saved anyway so let us have those with whom we have a better chance of success. However, not all the white folk were saints, and the Jesuits had their difficulties with them. There was a great influx of immigrants after 1848, following the revolutions in various European countries. For instance, there came a class of immigrants from Germany who proudly referred to themselves as the *Lateiners—Latins.* They had brought with them a smattering of higher education and Latin, considered themselves superior to the common run and sneered at priests and religion in general. At Westphalia this group made life so miserable for poor Father Helias that he quit the village and took up his residence in the neighboring Taos. Before leaving he attached the following note to the door of the church at Westphalia:

Ardua qui quaerit, rubros cur currit ad Indos?
Westphalia veniat, ardua cuncta dabunt.

Roughly translated: "If you look for a tough job, why go after the red Indian; come to Westphalia."

In the last chapter of volume I, Father Garraghan tells us of the beginnings of St. Louis University. They were modest enough even as was the city of St. Louis at that time. In 1820, St. Louis was but a good-sized village of some 6,000 inhabitants. Bishop Du Bourg overlooked none of his responsibilities, and it had long been his ambition to have a school for higher learning in St. Louis. A number of secular priests had started the St. Louis Academy as early as 1818. This gave promise of considerable success and so in 1820, it was changed into St. Louis College. Unfortunately, this institution was not a success and closed its doors shortly afterwards. In 1826, Bishop Du Bourg went to Rome and while there resigned his See and never came back to America. The saintly Bishop Joseph Rosati, C.M., had been his coadjutor and was now appointed as first Bishop of the newly erected diocese of St. Louis. It was he who induced the Jesuits to open a school in 1828. They bought a piece of land on what is now Washington Avenue, between 9th and 10th Streets. While the building was being erected they also opened a school in Florissant. The St. Louis school began in 1829 with an enrollment of 150 students. The history of this institution from now on runs parallel with the development of the city of St. Louis. That in the beginning it did not amount to much is evident from a report of Father Kenney, S.J., who came from Ireland as Visitator for the United States. In a letter to Father Roothaan, the Jesuit General in Rome, he wrote on April 25, 1832: "I don't see what fatality has so far driven the Jesuits to avoid the better known cities, and take in hand the cultivation of this stubborn soil. I should not readily advise that colleges be opened by ours in similar localities." In Rome, it seems, St. Louis University did not enjoy a very high rating at that time. In fact, there was a general opinion that American Jesuits were not of the class of European members of the Society. Doubtless there was some truth in this. There was no time in America then for the extended studies required in Europe. There was so much work to be done that young priests were sent out into the field to work as soon as they had completed the bare minimum of preparation. The

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regular course of studies for a Jesuit is long, intricate and difficult. Father Garraghan tells us all about this in the last chapters of the first volume.

Up to 1831, the Missouri Fathers had been under the Provincial of Maryland. To the chagrin of the easterners, the joy of the westerners, and the surprise of all, the St. Louis foundation was made independent of the Maryland house and became an independent Vice-Province, directly under the General in Rome. This had the great advantage that now they could communicate directly with Rome instead of through the unsatisfactory medium of the Maryland Provincial. There were at this time in the Missouri house nine Fathers and six Brothers, a total of fifteen. From now on things began to develop much faster. In 1843, the number had grown to 154 in all, most of them priests, and quite an international lot they were. The Belgian contingent was the most numerous and important up to 1870. The rest of the Fathers and Brothers were Irish, German, French, Spanish, and a few native-born Americans. Up to 1870 all the Provincials, with the single exception of Father Murphy, who served from 1851 to 1854, were Belgian Jesuits.

In 1863 the Vice-Province was raised to the status of a Province. Up to this time only a few of the Fathers had succeeded in making their tertianship even within twenty years after ordination. They just did not have time for it. From 1863 on, however, conditions began to be better regulated and gradually there evolved the Society of Jesus such as we find it today in the St. Louis and Chicago Provinces and in such institutions of learning as St. Louis University, Loyola University of Chicago, Marquette University of Milwaukee, and Creighton University of Omaha.

In the last chapters of the first volume the author throws upon the screen what might be called the Parade of Provincials. One by one they step before us, and the spotlight is thrown upon them. Their characters are depicted honestly and sometimes, undoubtedly, mercilessly. Virtues are duly recorded, but shortcomings and failings are not spared. However, none of them suffer because of their faults. In all of them the light dominates over the shadows. The historian of dead men's activities may depict them as he sees them. They cannot rise to protest, and in their modesty they would not

if they could. The biographer of the living cannot well tell the full truth. All in all, the Parade of the Provincials is very interesting and so is that of the Novice Masters. Of these latter Father Van Quickenborne was the first, perhaps the most incompetent and yet the most successful and perhaps also the greatest of them all.

II

"The secret *par excellence*," writes Dr. Ludwig von Pastor, "of the powerful solidarity of the Jesuit Order lies in the supreme authority of the General." The Father General lives in Rome. He is always a man of proven virtue: pious, intelligent, prudent, unselfish. His interest is the good of the Church, of souls, and everything else is subordinate to this. "To the greater glory of God," "to the greater service of God," and such and similar expressions occur in more than two hundred and fifty places in the writings of St. Ignatius. The personal wants of his subordinates must ever be subject to this norm. Their wishes and judgments must always give way to the direction of the General. He is in far-off Rome, and not upon the actual scene of any of the widely flung activities of his men. This keeps him from being influenced by a particular situation versus the general standing of things. He gets a sort of bird's eye view of the whole field and thus knows how to coordinate the forces at his command for the best general result. The Fathers are encouraged, even commanded, to communicate often with the General. They are asked to be brutally frank in their writings, and mostly they are. They do not hesitate to express what they think of the personal character of their fellow workers or of their local superiors. Their works are freely criticized, both light and shadow being brought out in bold relief. Thus the General is well informed as to the ability, special gifts and aptitudes of his subjects. And he guides them as he sees best. Nor does the General ever hesitate to tell his subordinates what he thinks of them or their work. He tells them boldly of their failings and admonishes them severely.

Father Wenninger, undoubtedly the greatest Jesuit missionary among the Germans in this country, had a prolific pen. The books he wrote were good, and no one knew it better than the author.

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At his missions he would boost these books and not refrain from going about among the people selling them. True, he never kept a penny of what he made, giving all to charity; but this insistent advertising caused much comment, and some offense. He was promptly forbidden further to advertise his books, and he ceased doing so from that day one. Father Roothaan, a very capable General, chosen in 1829, realized that the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, once so famous and effective, had been all but forgotten and were greatly neglected by the Fathers themselves. He made strict rules and regulations concerning them and soon had them back in their former appreciation. Father Van Quickenborne was severely reprimanded for not coöperating more cordially with Bishop Rosati of St. Louis. The same thing happened to a later provincial, Father De Theux, as also to Father Elet. All of them notable characters and successful superiors, but being under the authority of the General they did not consider themselves the subjects of the bishops of their particular region. Later on relations between Religious and Ordinaries were minutely regulated by canon law.

On account of the scarcity of priests in those early days the Jesuits of Florissant were importuned from many sides to do this work and that. In consequence, instead of living in larger communities, often there were "Residences" (as Jesuit stations were called), with but two or even one Father. The General was not slow in letting them know that their calling was not to be "un bon curé". Jesuits were not to become complacent pastors, however good, but they had larger work to do. They must live in large communities, in larger cities. These must be centers of far-flung activities that radiate from them. Colleges and institutions of learning are important, but only in so far as they aid in the salvation of souls, by training good Catholic laymen and priests for the missions. There was no objection to "itinerant" Jesuits, indeed, they were encouraged. Thus many places that the Jesuits had founded had to be given up—even if that entailed a loss of souls in places. Other souls elsewhere in greater number would thus be saved, and their former charges must be left to God. Had it not been for such stringent measures Quincy and Belleville in

Illinois would probably at one time have been under Jesuit care. As soon as secular priests were available, the Jesuits had to give up their parishes. In the fifties and sixties we see a number of notable German priests upon the Missouri stage, who, taking over activities from the Jesuits, gained much fame and reputation. Among them were such as Father Melcher, later Vicar-General of St. Louis; Father Vattman, later a noted chaplain in the United States Navy; Dr. Seelig, Father Faerber of Catechism fame, and others.

Jesuits may not become bishops, except at the command of the Holy Father. Often their names were suggested by the bishops of this country, because of lack of suitable secular priests. Almost always the individual sought out fought against such appointment, and in this he was always supported by the General. This did not prevent a few of them, however, from being drafted for the high office. Among them we find Father VandeVelde, who was ordered by the pope to accept the See of Chicago in 1848, and Father Miège, who became Vicar Apostolic for the Indians of the Plains in 1850.

An interesting "inner" item is the story of the Jesuits during the Civil War. Officially, the superiors were for the Union, but perhaps most of the Fathers secretly sided with the South. Strict neutrality was enjoined upon them by the General in Rome. But the situation in Missouri was peculiarly complicated. The Governor and legislature abdicated and a provisional government was set up by a state convention. This government demanded of all citizens an oath of loyalty. To take this oath or not take it—that was the question. The advice they received from their superior, Father Sopranis, was: "Refuse to take the oath, if it can be done without risk. Take it, if it is too risky not to take it—provided the Bishop [Kenrick] does not object." Eventually they were not asked to take the oath. Also they did everything they could to evade the draft for military service. They were justly afraid they would have to serve and made remonstrances in Washington, in which they were successful. There is no historic record of any Catholic priest having served as a soldier in the Northern armies. Father De Smet, as a missionary among the Indians, had made

many friends among the American officers of the various forts, and this stood him and the Society in good stead during the Civil War. Whenever trouble loomed (and there was plenty in Missouri), army officers generally came to their help and rescue. In 1864, Father Weninger was preaching a mission in New Westphalia, Missouri. People were particularly stingy there in supporting the church. When his exhortations did no good he told them to hang on to their pelf, that it would not be long till they would compelled to part with it. A few months later 20,000 rebels came into Osage County and stripped the farms to the bone.

Father Weninger, S.J., was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, preacher of missions in America. He had come from the Austrian Tyrol in 1848, then 43 years old. He died in 1888, and there are still living such as heard one or other of his missions, and they never forgot them. The fiery closing sermon he would often preach standing with uplifted cross on the mensa of the altar! After breakfast, following his morning Mass and sermon, he would go into spiritual seclusion for a full hour. His orders were that no one was to be admitted, not even the Emperor of Austria. On one occasion, at the closing of a mission in a country parish, a neighboring pastor was to celebrate the last Mass. The good man forgot all about the appointment and had said Mass and broken his fast when he arrived. A hundred or more people had come miles and miles to receive Holy Communion, but there were not enough consecrated hosts. Father Weninger preached his closing sermon as usual, put on surplice and stole, went to the altar, consecrated and distributed Holy Communion! His answer was, Christ would not have sent them away hungry! Undoubtedly, he saved thousands of immigrant German families from being lost to the Church. Others, such as Arnold Damen and Smarius, saved their thousands of other nationalities. It was not unusual for them to have missions in which they heard ten and twelve thousand confessions—helped of course by local priests. At one time thirty-five priests heard confessions day and night in New York City. An Indian Jesuit (half breed), Father Bouchard, did similar things on the Pacific coast. It is said of Father Wenninger that in 1853 he gave thirty-two missions all by himself (he could stand no partner and never ac-

cepted a donation for his services), heard thirty thousand confessions by himself, and preached nine hundred sermons. During his mission career of thirty years he made three thousand converts and travelled two hundred thousand miles. In addition to that, he wrote forty-seven books in German, sixteen in English, three in Latin, and eight in French. Their circulation was immense, running into the hundreds of thousands. Missions in those days were of peculiar importance. Everywhere from Europe immigrants had come to this land and settled wherever they found it convenient, often enough in places where there were no churches or priests. Fighting for a material foothold in this country, they had paid but scant attention to their religious duties. Thousands had not been in a church for years and had forgotten about the sacraments. These missionaries were mighty men, truly men of God. Their reputation was such that curiosity attracted tens of thousands. They came to hear and see, and left converted to the ancient ways of their faith. Nor were these immigrants always the very best that Europe had to send over. Even where they had parishes and priests there were everlasting quarrels with them. Many had the idea that the priest was something like an employee whom they hired and discharged or paid as they paid other servants. They wished to dictate to him and relegate him entirely to his sacristy. In many cases little was accomplished with immigrants. Had it not been for schools in which their children received a better education than their parents had, conditions among us today would not be so good as they are. There were many difficulties with teachers. These were laymen, of course, often addicted to drink and to other undesirable moral habits. Gradually Sisters were introduced into our schools, and their labors have borne incalculably good fruit.

The story of the Jesuits of the Middle West is inextricably interwoven with the story of the Indian during the last century. Father De Smet will ever remain the great blackrobe, the warm friend of the Indian with practically all the remnants of the various tribes and nations that still exist. From my childhood days I recall that my father often spoke of "Mr. De Smet", who as a Scholastic was his prefect when he was a student at St. Louis University in the fifties of the last century. That thrilling occurrences, adventures,

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dramas and tragedies should follow one another in amazing number in De Smet's life need not surprise us. The story of the great Northwest, "the Oregon Trail", will ever be a great epic in our history. The Jesuits play a major part in that story. Though Clark and Lewis had completed their expedition and had come to the mouth of the Columbia River in 1805, nothing much came of it until the Jesuits arrived upon the scene. How this came about is a tale that might interest the best of our poets. We can give but the barest sketch here. There was an old Indian by the name of "Big Ignaz". He was a Sioux, and in his family the Catholic faith, implanted centuries before by Father Isaac Jogues up in Sault St. Marie, Michigan, had been well preserved. A refugee, he had found asylum with his family among the Flatheads on the Bitter Root River in Oregon. He tells his new found friends about the Christian religion and about the blackrobes. He instills into their hearts the determined desire to have one amongst them. They must go to St. Louis and ask for one; it is the only way. True, it is three thousand miles away; the trip is full of hazards; they must pass through the lands of the Blackfeet who live to the East of the Big Mountains (Rockies); they must cross many rivers, forests and swamps. It will be a great undertaking. The year is 1831. Four Flathead Indians appear before Bishop Joseph Rosati at St. Louis. No one can understand their language, but by signs they make clear where they come from and what they want. Two of them are sick. They beg to be baptized. They know how to make the sign of the cross—Ignaz had taught them that. They are baptized and they die—the first of the Oregon Indians to become Christians. The other two begin their return journey, having received presents and some vague promises. They are never again heard of even among their own. Very likely they perished on their way home. The news of this strange visit gets abroad. Protestants eagerly take up the story and give it their own interpretation. Indians, they say, have come to search for the "Great Book" (Bible). They come to the Catholics and are shown a crucifix. No, they want the "Book". They are shown candles. They want the "Book". They are shown this and that but not the "Book". Sadly they go back to their people to tell them they have not found the "Book".

Protestant missionaries organize expeditions. They come to the Flatheads. But they are not "blackrobes". They have wives and children—they are not wanted and are told to go back. And in St. Louis the story of the Indians is soon but a legend. Four years later. An old Indian appears before the Bishop of St. Louis with two stalwart warriors, his sons. It is old Ignaz himself. He makes a great impression upon all. He is a devout and a saintly Catholic. He asks for missionaries. Alas, there is no one available just now to go to that far-off country. But as soon as possible a man will be sent. The old man goes home with much hope. He waits two years—in vain. Then he sets out once more with a party of Flatheads. They are joined by a party of white hunters also headed for St. Louis. A large band of Blackfeet comes upon them. They do not molest the whites. Ignaz is dressed as a white man and is taken for one by the Blackfeet, who separate the two parties and proceed to massacre those of their own race. Then the old Indian calmly steps over to the side of his friends, reveals himself an Indian and is massacred with them. Justly he bears the title of martyr and apostle of his country. Again a few years go by. But our Indians are determined and a new delegation sets out. Two young men, one of them a son of Old Ignaz. They come past Council Bluffs. There they meet Father De Smet. He takes them in hand and gives them advice and has them proceed to St. Louis. This time they go to the Jesuits and now at last they get results. One goes back, but "Little Ignaz" stays. He will wait until the blackrobe sets out and act as his guide.

The choice of the Jesuit Council falls upon Father De Smet. He is one of the band of novices that came to Florissant with Father Quickenborne in 1823. He is destined to become the most outstanding of that young band, charges of the famous founder of the St. Louis Province. Father De Smet is a worthy companion of his illustrious countryman, Father Damien of Molokai. De Smet sets out with his Indian companion in March, 1840. As far as Westport, now Kansas City, they go by steamer. Here they join a band of hunters who will serve them as protection. North and West they travel, miles upon miles. On July 5 they are in Wyoming, and Father De Smet says the first Mass ever said in the State. At long

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last they reach their destination. The Flatheads are jubilant. De Smet stays with them for weeks, instructing them and baptizing those whom he thinks sufficiently prepared, some six hundred. The rest must wait, he must go, but will return with others to start living with them and stay with them.

He returned to St. Louis December 31, 1840, and went about in earnest to prepare for the Oregon Mission. Money and lots of it was needed. He travelled over the country, preaching in New Orleans and Philadelphia and elsewhere, and found much sympathy and generous support. The following year he started anew for the Rockies. With him were Father Point, who is destined to make a great name for himself in that country, remaining as their permanent missionary years after De Smet had departed, and Father Mengarini, besides three very capable lay brothers. The story of this expedition is extremely interesting as the reader of the book will discover. When still 800 miles from their goal, they are met by a large band of Flatheads who had been waiting and looking out for them. Promptly a residence is started on the banks of the Bitter Root, a tributary to the Columbia. Within three months the last of the Flatheads is baptized. We are informed that every one of them merited the title of a true child of God. For ten years the Flatheads were a truly model tribe of Catholic Indians, who set a great example to their neighboring tribes, among whom many, too, were converted, notably the so-called Coeur d'Alènes. These were thus called, "Awl Hearts", because they were said to have no hearts at all. They were the most bestial and savage of all the Rocky Mountain tribes, indeed not much above the level of brutes. A Father Joset became their special attendant and a great change came upon them within six months, when it could be said of them: not a single fault that can be called serious has been committed by them. Father Hoecken (later famous amongst the Potawatomies) said of them: "They were the most intractable nation of all. Since the Fathers have been amongst them they are entirely changed."

In 1846, progress in the Rocky Mountains had been so great that jurisdiction over it was taken from the superior in St. Louis and placed directly in the hands of the General in Rome. Father Roothaan expected these missions eventually to rival the famous

missions of Paraguay of an earlier date. Father De Smet was recalled to St. Louis, for other and much more far-reaching purposes, as we shall see. He never lost his interest in these missions, however, and continued to provide them with money and materials. His name has been immortalized by a mountain range named after him and its highest peak also was called De Smet Peak. Likewise a lake in those regions bears his name. Before we leave him, however, we must mention that he had caused the Blackfeet to become the friends of the Flatheads. It happened on one occasion that a number of both these tribes were attacked by a vastly greater number of Crow Indians. They seemed doomed, but considered themselves saved by the prayers of the Catholic Flatheads and this disposed the Blackfeet to embrace the Faith. Father De Smet was selected to be the first Bishop of Oregon, but his objection, backed by his General, kept the Holy See from appointing him.

Alas for the works of man! Ten years after they have been converted our Flatheads return from a buffalo hunt in the plains east of the mountains. Something happened and they are a changed people. They have gone back to their ancient barbaric habits. They avoid the missionary and threaten him. How this sudden change came has never been exactly explained. The story is an amazing one. Possibly one of the missionary Fathers was not without responsibility for it. Someone wrote to the General in Rome about a Father who was " brusque, irritable and impatient, but nevertheless a ' good religious ' ". Students of history will read the Flathead story with absorbing interest. It spelled the end of the General's dreams. The mission was abandoned in 1850, ten years after its opening. Occasionally a Father would visit and take care of such as had remained faithful. In 1868, the mission was reopened with only a slight degree of success and continued till 1905, when what remained of the tribe was moved to Western Montana, the Jocko reservation, which still is under Jesuit care.

A matter of greatest importance in the history of the nineteenth-century America is the migration of the Indian from the eastern part of the country to the region west of the Mississippi and from there on farther and farther West. We may sum up the reasons

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for this migration thus: disappearance of game because of white settlement; maintenance of tribal government and autonomy within the limits of organized state government, with unwillingness of Indians to conform to state laws; greed of the white man for the lands of the Indians, often fraudulently cheating them out of their possessions. Friends of the Indians also felt that their interests could be best safeguarded by segregation from the whites; indeed, the white man was a bane for the Indian. He taught him all his vices and wickedness, giving little sign of virtue and goodness. There were always those who smuggled firewater to the Indian. To it he was congenitally addicted, and more than anything else this caused his doom. The government meant well and had the interest of the Indian at heart, but the agents of Government were not always so considerate. In successive waves the Indians of the East moved West. There they found the Jesuits ready to meet them. There is scarcely a tribe that did not at some time or other feel the benign Jesuit influence. Father De Smet, who was made procurator for all of them in 1849, was the soul of all Indian missions. All that could be done was certainly done. Alas for the shortage of men and means. Historians, even Protestant, admit that the Jesuits had a peculiar gift, so far as the conversion of Indians was concerned. The Indians trusted them and liked them and greatly wanted Catholic missionaries instead of others. They felt that these men of God loved them, and love begets love. Unfortunately, the Government had little consideration for the feelings of the Indians and did not give the Fathers that support to which they were entitled. Much more could otherwise have been done. In 1870 there were *seventy-two* Indian agencies. *Thirty-eight* of them had been under Catholic influence, but only *eight* in all were committed to them. *Eighty thousand* Catholic Indians thus passed to Protestant control.

For a sample of the migratory movement we may give that of the Potowatomies of Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan. They were kinsfolk of the tribe that earlier was settled at Council Bluffs and later at Sugar Creek in Kansas. There were 800 of these Indians, all of them Catholic. Today there is a monument of reparation somewhere in northern Indiana for the wrong the

whites had done to these Indians. They had stirred them up so as to cause danger of revolt on the part of the red man. The Federal Government intervened and persuaded them to give up their lands and go out west. These Indians had retained the faith that had been preached to them by the confrères of Father Jogues. Gradually the Jesuit missions had all gone to pieces after the suppression of the Order in France in 1763. For the most part there were no other priests available to take their places and the Indians fell back into paganism, without, however, losing all Catholic traditions. These, however, were mostly vague, except in some instances where the Indians had at times at least been reached by some religious or secular priest. Our Potowatomies had been fortunate in having Bishop Bruté of Vincennes look out for them. For a long time they enjoyed the services of Father Stephen Badin, who was the first Catholic priest ever to be ordained in the present United States.

At the time of their eviction the Potowatomies had as their priest a Frenchman by the name of Benjamin Marie Petit. He was still very young, in the middle twenties only. He was a real hero and deserves a great place in the annals of the American priesthood, though as a matter of fact, his name is hardly known and his story had not been heretofore told. He pleaded with his bishop to let him go with the Indians on their march, to see them safely into their new country and then, if necessary, to return at the call of the bishop. This young priest describes the trek over the prairies of Indiana, Illinois into Missouri and out into Kansas. It is a revealing account. United States troops were in charge of the expedition, and they had little regard for the miseries of their wards. Like cattle the Indians were driven through parching heat, with no water and no provisions. The poor victims died in large numbers. Father Petit did all he could to succor them. He assisted the dying and buried them. He wept with them and suffered and burned as they did with fever. On November 4, 1838, what was left of the band arrived at Sugar Creek, Kansas. Here they were met by Father Hoecken, S.J., who had been with the Kickapoos earlier and was now with the Potowatomies. Father Hoecken treated Father Petit with all possible kindness. But the

young priest was completely worn out. He was sent to St. Louis, where the Jesuits took charge of him. They gave him all the spiritual and medical help that could be had, but the young priest died, truly a saint, February 10, 1841, only twenty-seven years old. For ten years this mission on Sugar Creek struggled along, reenforced by the tribe from Indiana all of whom were devout Catholics. A school for boys was founded and one for girls with some help from the government. The girls' school was directed by the Religious of the Sacred Heart from Florissant. Mother Duchesne, old as she was now, could not be deterred from going herself to these Indians. The cross-country journey was strenuous, but she stood it well. However, she never learned the language of the Indians and was of little practical use at this time, but she spent her days praying for the mission, and the Indians called her "Praying Woman". After two years, ill health compelled her to return to Florissant, where she died shortly afterwards in the odor of sanctity.

Father Hoecken tried hard to teach his Indians farming. His experiences in this line are typical of all Indian missions. The Indian is not a farmer. By nature he is indolent. The grass on the prairie grows without planting and harvesting, why not wheat and corn? If the Great Spirit meant them to have these things he would grow them without their aid. Most of the time the Indian was hungry. Before the advent of the white man perhaps no race on earth suffered more from hunger than the Indian. Destitution was chronic. Certainly, at the time of prosperous buffalo hunts they had plenty of meat. But not all the tribes lived in buffalo country, nor was every hunt a success. The Government and the Jesuit Fathers clearly foresaw the day when the buffalo would be no more. Indians must be taught to raise their food and every effort was made towards it—with little success, especially with those of that generation. Through schools and education some success was achieved with the children. If an Indian worked and tilled his soil and if he had a good crop, then all his relatives and neighbors would camp with him and eat him out of house and home. Sometimes the missionary induced the Indians to plow and sow. But when harvest time came the work was too hard and they would come to the Fathers and ask them to bring in their harvest,

which, of course, they refused to do. If they were poor because they were lazy, that was their own fault. Still the Indian grumbled, seeing the missionaries reaping rich harvests. Another thing hard to persuade the Indian to do was to build permanent houses. They preferred to live in their tepees, which, set close together on the plains, made for easy social intercourse. The Indian could easily pick up his tent and move elsewhere. Other manual labor was taught in the schools, things fitting for boys and for girls. Here again the Government often failed in giving the help that was its duty and to which the Indian was entitled. Thus in Father Hoecken's mission the Government sent looms for weaving. But essential parts of the machines were missing and so they were useless. Indian girls among other things were taught to milk cows. Typical as was this mission, and far above the average, Father Hoecken still had to fight hard and continually against the evils and vices that Indians were prone to. Liquor was still the primary enemy. In 1843, a set of laws was passed, printed and promulgated that were in every way as strict as those of our own Prohibition days. Though the evil was not altogether eradicated, still much good was accomplished. Thus, for instance, the Peorias profited greatly. These, we are told by Father Verreyed in 1847, were a destitute and forlorn tribe. "The wretched state in which we found them was truly pitiful, but no sooner had they embraced the doctrine of the Catholic Church than they became models of temperance and industry. They were, indeed, an inspiration to other tribes who profited by the good example of the Peorias." It was different with the Miamis. The Jesuits had so little success with them that the Indian agent recommended their recall and put Baptists and Presbyterians in their place. Father De Smet blames his confrères, who, he says, were either incompetent or lax. Others, however, blame it on the natural indolence and degeneracy of the tribe. The difficulties the Jesuits faced in trying to civilize the natives were numberless and great. Too much should not be expected in the time they had for it. Let us remember that it took the Church centuries to civilize the nations of Europe. And the Indians did not have to contend with "whites" as neighbors who used all their ingenuity to corrupt them. Greed was the main

motive. Because of this the whites smuggled in poor whiskey which they sold at exorbitant prices and otherwise tried to cheat the trusting Indian out of all he had. The red man was like a child in mentality. He feared, respected, even loved the missionary, but also somewhat after the manner of the child towards the teacher—when he is looking he behaves superbly, but when he has his back turned the conduct is not so good.

Another difficulty was the fact that the wards of the missionary were spread over vast territory, and communication was slow and often extremely difficult. It was no unusual thing for a priest to go a hundred and more miles on a sick call. Often enough he came too late and could stay only for the burial. Again and again we read in this moving narrative stories of a priest setting out, being caught in rains, snows and blizzards, sometimes in regions where there was no tree and no shelter, no chance for a fire during the night, when he had to camp out and lie in a bed of mud. It is a wonder that some of them lived as long as they did. Good Father Ponzgilione worked among the Osages from 1848 to 1891, dying at a very old age. Father Schoenmakers worked for thirty-six years among them, much beloved and accomplishing wonders. Father Cataldo, famous Jesuit of the far north west, died in 1928 at the age of ninety-three. Sad, however, is the story of good Father Duering of the Potowatomies. His was perhaps the most flourishing of all Indian missions. He lived to see the success of it, but in 1857, while on a trip to St. Louis, he was drowned in the Missouri River, together with several others, when the canoe they were traveling in upset. His was a great loss and it was mourned in the entire country, most of all by his faithful Indians. Tragic, too, was the fate of Father Hoecken. He was the famous founder of the St. Mary's mission in Kansas. A fine Indian linguist, competent, indefatigable and successful. On the way to his mission, he and Father De Smet travelled on a river steamer. Cholera broke out on board. De Smet did not contract the cholera, but was desperately ill and expected to die. Father Hoecken, a bit of a physician, too, looked after the stricken patients, assisting three or four every day as they died, burying them on the shores of the river. One evening De Smet, thinking his last hour had come, called for

Father Hoecken to hear his confession. But that good Father had that night been stricken by the dread cholera and was not able to attend to Father De Smet, who then dragged himself out of his bed and with superhuman endeavor prepared his friend for death. He died that night. They buried him temporarily in a tarred wooden coffin and on the return trip of the boat they exhumed his remains and brought them to Florissant, where his grave is honored today.

In view of the tremendous difficulties it is amazing that the results of the missionary labors of the Jesuits are as great as they are. Still one cannot read the story of their labors without a certain feeling of disappointment. True, the one or the other tribe was practically civilized by the Fathers. Thus the Osages, who, with the help of the Fathers, made excellent deals with the government in selling their lands before moving into Oklahoma in the seventies. The missionaries went with them and are still with them. There the Indian lands contained oil, and today these Osages are the richest people on earth in per capita wealth. Their Kansas brethren could have fared equally well had they followed the Jesuits as did the Osages. As it was, they turned out a sorry lot, destined for extinction. The Potowatomies also flourished. St. Mary's, established amongst them, was destined to play a great part in later years in education among the whites. Who has not heard of St. Mary's College, Kansas? There were many baptisms and conversions among nearly all the tribes. It must strike us as strange that the missionaries, whenever they met friendly Indian tribes, did not hesitate to baptize the children at once—tens of thousands of them. Father De Smet, attending the big Council of the tribes in 1851, baptized some two hundred and fifty children in one day. He baptized over twelve thousand that year. Other Fathers in proportion did the same. We naturally ask how they could do this, in view of the fact that there was so little guarantee of these children being later on instructed and reared in the Faith. Of course, the priests made records of these baptisms and hoped that perhaps later the children could be looked after. But they followed here the principle of their patron, St. Francis Xavier in India, who said that many of these children would die and then become intercessors in heaven for their loved ones on earth. Our

missionaries could well satisfy their scruples in this regard. The mortality of Indian children was frightful, fifty per cent and more never reached the age of reason. The mortality of the Indians generally at this period was very high. White people did not only bring them fire-water, they also brought many diseases to which the Indian had not built up resistance, such as the whites had been able to do through centuries of battle. Tuberculosis became a veritable plague that decimated whole villages. Measles added their share as did scarlet fever and especially smallpox. Then came the repeated scourge of cholera. It practically wiped out whole tribes and nations. It is not perhaps too much to say that half of the Indians of the Plains were swept away by these various waves of epidemics. As the Indian went farther west the white man came to take his place. The Jesuits were in the field among the Indians, and as the white settlers came in they took care of them also. Thus what at one time had been a flourishing Indian mission was now likely to become a white man's parish. This was most fortunate for the immigrants, many of whom would otherwise have been lost to the Faith. The Jesuits would stay until the diocesan bishop could appoint a secular priest for these new and growing parishes. This is doubtless how it happens that today there are so many flourishing Catholic parishes in Missouri and Kansas. Indirectly, we have the Indians to thank for it. Another thing that advanced the cause of Indian missions was the fact that the Holy See appointed a Vicar Apostolic for them in the person of Bishop Miège in 1850. He had jurisdiction in all the Indian country east of the Rockies from Canada down to California. He took up his residence at St. Mary's, Kansas, amongst the Potowatomies. From here he coördinated and directed the work of all the Jesuits in his Vicariate with great success.

III

The third volume of Father Garraghan's monumental work begins with the thrilling account of a shipwreck suffered by Bishop Miège and Father De Smet on their return from a journey to Europe. Having luckily survived the storm at sea, they ran right into stormy political weather conditions at home. It was in the

years immediately preceding our Civil War. Kansas had requested union with the United States, and the all-absorbing question was, should Kansas become a free state or a slave state. Kansas in the fifties was fast being populated by whites. Leavenworth had grown from nothing to a population of 8100 in six months. Other cities grew in proportion. In 1854 the state had a population of 500,000 whites to only 8000 Indians. St. Mary's of the Potowatomi was rapidly losing its prestige as an Indian mission. The Government wished to resettle the Indians in Oklahoma, but it gave them the choice of remaining as United States citizens, giving to each brave a section of land. Father Garraghan quotes a fine sample of Indian oratory. In a council between the Indians and Government agents, old Chief Shawgee, with a logic as keen as Plato's, and periods worthy of a Cicero, makes the Government agents quake. But the Government remained inexorable and the Indians had to submit to the choice. Many remained—most of the Catholics—and took their section of land. The others moved farther west. It would have been better had they all moved, for those remaining soon sold their land to whites at pitifully low prices, drank up their proceeds, became poor beggars and parasites, and in time became extinct. The Indians had migrated from the plains and had been transplanted and under these new developments there was no longer need of a special Vicar Apostolic for them. Here we have a fine example of humility. Bishop Miège resigned his office, laid aside the title of "Bishop" and as "Father" Miège, S.J., became spiritual director of the Jesuit Seminary at Woodstock, Md., where he died in his eightieth year in 1884.

The author devotes a special chapter to Father De Smet, which contains many interesting anecdotes concerned with his extremely many-sided and useful life. The country owes him a debt of appreciation. In the Government's troublous dealings with the Indian he was worth more than an "army with banners." In 1868, Chief Sitting Bull had sworn to kill any white man he laid eyes on. Yet Father De Smet fearlessly went to him and induced this most powerful of Indian chiefs of that day to make peace. Even as St. Paul and Father Damien and other great men, Father De Smet became the target of calumniators and detractors. His

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almost blunt directness and solid, unostentatious virtue and piety remind one of his great confrère and near-countryman of three centuries earlier—St. Peter Canisius. A great portion of volume III is devoted to an account of the educational work of the Jesuits in the United States; and it is a splendid record. As the infant church in America was helped by Catholics in Europe, so, too, the Jesuits in America received generous support in men and means from Europe. One need only think of the valiant Belgian expeditionary force and of a Father Wenninger, who came from the neighborhood of Innsbruck. The reviewer feels confident the Jesuits and the priests of the United States will not be unmindful of the Jesuit Canisianum, now in exile. It is interesting to note that the Cincinnati Jesuit school had as pupils such distinguished men as President William Harrison, Nicholas Longworth, and Bellamy Storer.

Father Garraghan has put many pages into his *Jesuits of the Middle United States*—some 2000 or more, but they are all extremely interesting, and probably, apart from the glorious heroism of the men whose lives of devotion and apostolic zeal he describes so brilliantly, some scholars will recognize the implications in these volumes for the much-needed revision of the Turner-Paxson thesis.

✠ Joseph H. Schlarman.

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GILDSMAN OF TOULOUSE *

Thomas Carlyle's familiar introduction of "a veritable monk of Bury St. Edmunds" glimpsed in the old mediaeval chronicle of *Jocelyn of Brakelond* will serve to introduce another equally interesting figure of the Middle Ages, the gildsman of Toulouse, with the records of social, industrial, and religious life which he wrote, centuries ago, in his statutes:

> There he is: and in his hand a magic speculum, much gone to rust indeed, yet in fragments still clear, wherein the marvellous image of his existence does still shadow itself.[1]

Like his contemporaries elsewhere in mediaeval Europe, the craftsman of Toulouse was an intensely human individual. Subject to the weaknesses and foibles of human nature, strong in his likes and dislikes, selfish in his insistence on personal rights and privileges, he was, withal, capable of honest endeavor to be just and fair in his social and work-a-day world. One finds him industrious, practical, rich in common sense, and resourceful. Between the lines of his rules and regulations to which he subscribed in ordering his craft, he has left, consciously or not, traces of a desire to excel in workmanship, of a personal pride in the prestige of his gild, of an ambition to find himself in the respected ranks of his community. To these he has added cross-sections picturing the social and religious world in which he lived. His statutes, consequently, are no mere statements of regulations dealing with personnel, manufacture, police measures, and punitive specifications; they are vital, dynamic documents, rich in human interest in local settings.

In the municipal archives of Toulouse is a large collection of documents pertaining to the gilds, one of the richest extant any-

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* Paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1938, Chicago, Illinois.

[1] Cf. *Past and Present,* Bk. II, Chap. 1.

where in France. This deposit of gild materials comprises some sixty-three registers. Eleven of these registers are gild statutes known as the *Statuts des corps de métiers,* dating from 1270 in an almost unbroken series down to the Revolution. These documents are supplemented by seventeen registers giving names of new masters received into the gilds; by twenty-five registers of records of litigation involving craftsmen and of concessions granted to various trades and individuals; by ten registers of documents of legislation, municipal and national, concerned with craft organization and supervision; by notarial records of Toulouse which alone contain some 10,376 *pièces;* by private papers belonging to families in the city whose wealth and prosperity in the Middle Ages were secured through industry and trade;[2] and lastly by the unclassified materials in the *Layettes* in the archives. Such a collection of documents is to the modern student of social and economic history a magic speculum, where the marvellous image of the mediaeval craftsman of Toulouse "does still shadow itself." In these statutes he wrote directly the rules and regulations governing his craft, and indirectly the ideals and principles of his own *weltanschauung,* a philosophy of life, rooted deeply in Christian principles and measured by eternal verities. It is surprising, therefore, that students of social and industrial history have left almost untouched this rich deposit of material picturing cross-sections of mediaeval life which are interesting, valuable, and, if one is not pushing comparisons too far, suggestive for those trying to solve present-day problems concerned with economic justice and social security.

The gildsman of Toulouse was fortunate in finding himself in surroundings which were favorable to the exercise of his craft. Toulouse was the heart and center of the rich, flourishing, cosmopolitan province of Languedoc, which, together with Flanders and Italy, formed the three great industrial centers of mediaeval Europe.[3] The city was, from a geographical vantage point, ideally

[2] Cf. C. Douais, "Statut municipal inédit des parcheminiers de Toulouse," *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse,* 9e sér., VII (1896), 5.

[3] Cf. *Histoire géographique de l'ancienne province de Languedoc.* Cartes géographiques et notes explicatives par A. Molinier, Plate VI.

situated on the Garonne, at the point where the river bends westward in its course to the sea. To the east a vast rolling country stretched toward the valley of the Rhone; to the west were the rich plains of the Garonne, with the rugged hill-lands of the Massif Central on the north and the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean on the South.[4] Languedoc was a center of intermingling social groups and a melting pot of different civilizations; Toulouse, its political and ecclesiastical capital, shared the advantages of the province. Here the craftsman of the city met Jew, Saracen, Oriental, Egyptian, and merchant from Rome the Great, who, according to Benjamin of Tudela, frequented its shops and bazaars.[5] At its markets, he bought fleeces and wools of sheep which grazed on the slopes of the Pyrenees; apricots, peaches, cereals, and vegetables from the gardens of Roussillon; aloes and pomegranates from Mediterranean orchards; *guède*, which furnished from earliest times the pastel dyes; and grapes and wines for which the district was famous.

In this environment of affuence and plenty, an active progressive municipal life flourished in which the gildsman of Toulouse, even in the twelfth century, took an active and responsible part. A few scattered references to the butchers will illustrate. In 1159 an agreement was made between Raymond V, Count of Toulouse, and the butchers of the city, whereby the latter agreed to pay the count or his representative a tax of two *solidi* for each ox brought to them alive.[6] In January, 1183, we find William of Castra Nova, the *viguier* of Toulouse, and the capitouls of the city meeting with the butchers. Divers frauds had been committed by some members of the craft and an inquiry was instigated. Two butchers were found guilty, censured and expelled.[7] A year later, a statute drawn up in January, 1184, for the butchers mentioned the bailiffs of the association.[8] In 1222, Raymond VI granted to the butchers stalls for

[4] Cf. P. M. Boissonnade, *Le Travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au moyen âge*, 230f.

[5] Cf. *Itinerarium*, 9.

[6] Cf. A. Teulet, *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, I, no. 149.

[7] *Arch. com. de Toulouse*, sér., AA, no. 71.

[8] *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, VIII, col. 373-374.

their meats specifying that these be held as hereditary fiefs. By the agreement the butchers were to enjoy a monopoly of trade and in return were to furnish the count with free meat for a specified time and were further required to sell to him on other occasions at an agreed profit.[9] A century later, 1321, a highly developed craft organization is revealed. In Register I of the *Statuts des corps de métiers* is a set of regulations for the butchers representing the shops in twelve districts in the city. To these regulations one hundred and forty-two butchers affixed their names, and one year later thirty-eight more agreed to abide by the statutes, adding their names to the former subscription.[10] Here, then, was a powerful gild which apparently was controlling the trade in meat, an essential staple in any community. It is interesting to note the attitude of these butchers regarding business methods. Theirs was a definite conception of a fair deal based upon justice and equity. Good meat only was to be sold in specified quarters, at specified counters; no butcher under penalty of fine could sell out of the accustomed time and place.[11] A butcher buying meat-beef, mutton, or pork, according to a definite agreement with another was, in the familiar words of the statutes themselves, bound in conscience to discharge the terms of his contract *in toto et in parte*. Failure to do so forfeited for him his right to exercise the craft; in addition, he paid for his infraction of the statutes a heavy fine, one half of which was given to the one who had denounced the fraud, the other half was used for the repair and upkeep of the four bridges which spanned the Garonne at Toulouse.[12] Strangers were not denied the right and advantage of practising the trade nor was a monopoly on meat exclusively held by these major members of the gild. A new butcher desirous of admission into the craft, before exercising the trade, must give monetary security to the capitouls of Toulouse, which money was used if any complaint was registered against him.[13] Other regulations regarding the slaughtering and sale of meat as well as various police measures were specifically

[9] *Arch. Nat. J. 330* A (trésor des chartes, Toulouse).

[10] *Statutum macellariorum*, HH_1, MS. 30-35.

[11] *Statutum macellariorum*, MS. 31, art. ii.

[12] *Ibid.*, art. i.

[13] *Ibid.*, art. iii.

and succinctly stated. In such manner, did the members of the butchers' gild, in 1321, code themselves.

Excessive profits, cornered-market tactics, unfair monopoly, and unjust competition in salesmanship had no place in their conception of foursquareness in business. It was no mere honesty-best-policy motive, however, which prompted this concern for sterling integrity. To assert the obvious is hardly necessary. The Catholic Faith to the mediaeval butcher, like the air he breathed, was an essential in his every-day life; it colored the warp and the woof of his daily thought. Consequently it needed no special mention in the industrial records he wrote for he took it as granted. However, if it is not an over-emphasis, one may point out among other things that the preambles to the statutes in Register I, even though they are stated in the accepted formulae of the period, include a dedication to God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to patron saints.

These butchers were not alone in their regimentation, in their condemnation of fraud, or in their emphasis on a square deal. Contemporary gilds were equally as solicitous. In 1279, the fullers, weavers and dyers, legislated against fraud and dishonest procedure: among other things, good wools were not to be mixed with cheap wool;[14] certain harmful dyes were forbidden;[15] poorly dyed cloth must be returned to the vats for re-dyeing;[16] damages to woven cloth because of negligence or carelessness of the artisan must be repaired to full value.[17] The candlemakers, in 1322, prohibited the use of cheap wax or tallow to their members under penalty of a heavy fine. Spice merchants condemned severely the fraud of mixing pure spices with cheap herbs, a practice commonly called in the vernacular *en camarar*.[18] Those who made leather bags for wine noted, in 1278, that some of their members were placing bags poorly made and of cheap material beneath a well-made product, which practice was sternly forbidden.[19] The modern reader may recall a counterpart fraud in contemporary life where

[14] Cf. *Statutum paratorum, textorum et tinctureriorum,* MS. 2, art. vi.
[15] *Ibid.,* Ms. p. a, art. iv; MS. 40, art. iii.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.,* MS. 43, art. xxvii.
[18] *Statutum mercatorum averiorum ponderis,* MS. p. 57, art. ii.
[19] *Officium cervineriorum,* MS. 13, art. vii.

he has observed luscious strawberries or juicy apples topping a box of semi-decayed fruit.

By its products and by the integrity of its members was the gild known. For both, each gildsman was responsible. To him, fraud and deception were a disgrace to honest salesmanship, a blot on his own character, a serious reflection on the gild he represented, and above all a violation of God's eternal law. Hence, these rugged individualistic artisans of Toulouse regimented their crafts and themselves, and gave such regimentation a legal character by referring their statutes to the capitouls of the city or to the *viguier* of the king for promulgation. It must be carefully noted that their rules and regulations were in the beginning no superimposed N. R. A. codes upon industry; they were the statutes voluntarily agreed upon and sanctioned by the members of the craft who knew how to order themselves. In this regard, the gildsman of Toulouse was no different from our contemporary craftsman who toils his day away amid the grime and smoke of a modern factory. He, too, is capable of ordering himself. Under normal conditions, his interest and pride in his work would be as vital as that of the craftsman of Toulouse. It does not seem rash to assume, therefore, that given a just deal and a fair chance to regulate his trade and to arbitrate on common far-reaching problems, he, too, like his predecessor centuries ago, would be efficient, reasonable, and foursquare. Might not such procedure, carefully planned and given honest trial, offer some solution to the harassing perennial capital-labor problems of our own civilization? "One's work is the reflection of one's self" writes Father Jaime Castiello, S.J., in *Humane Psychology of Education*. In substance, the author argues that a man who beholds the seal of his own personality on his work acquires a sense of power. Give him that, and he is a new man. If he can put nothing of his personality into his work, he is not happy. We may add, if he is not happy, he is discontented, restless, and dissatisfied.

The old gildsman of Toulouse as well as his contemporaries in other sections of the country, whether he knew human psychology or not, has taken cognizance of this desire in man's heart for creative expression and provided for it in his statutes. The craftsman of the mediaeval gild knew the joy of achievement. The finished

product was the work of his hands; on it he had set the seal of his own personality. It is not unreasonable to argue that the regulation requiring the inspection and approval of the finished product by bailiffs of the gild, while insuring high standards of work, also certified the ability and genius of the artisan. When these officials placed their mark of approval upon the product, they testified to the power of creative expression which was his who had made the commodity. Such a mark the gildsman knew was a recommendation of his own workmanship. A few examples among many from the statutes in Register I are to the point. Members of the textile crafts demanded a border upon woolen cloth woven in Toulouse, so that such might be easily recognized.[20] These borders varied according to the kind of cloth.[21] Cutlers must mark their knives and swords in the hilt so that such knives could be readily identified.[22] The pastrymakers have flavored their regulations with an essence of legitimate pride in skill and workmanship. The first draft of their statutes was made in 1315 with an addition in 1320.[23] The record opened with the usual pious declaration by the craftsmen that they wished to assist the Church and State in enforcing the idea of order and obedience. In consequence, any act of theirs that might be found contrary to the laws of God or king was declared to be *ipso facto* null and void. These pastrymakers according to their statutes made meat and fish pies and fried cakes. A very clear picture of the method of work in the pastry shops may be obtained from the statutes: all meats and fish were to be washed diligently before being placed in the crust;[24] flesh of bucks and goats, spoiled meats and fish were unusable and forbidden;[25] crusts were to be made of finest and purest flour and their quality must be of fragile richness.[26] One is amused at the naive pious declaration that pies not up to standard or those containing spoiled or prohibited ingredients were to be given "for the love of God to

[20] *Statutum textorum et paratorum*, MS., 37, art. viii.
[21] *Ibid.*, MS., 68, art. xvi.
[22] *Statutum cultellariorum*, MS., 10, art. ii.
[23] *Statutum patisseriorum*, MS. pp. 24-28.
[24] *Ibid.*, MS. p. 25, art. i.
[25] *Statutum patisseriorum*, MS., 26, art. iv.
[26] *Ibid.*, MS., 25, art. iii.

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the poor.'' [27] However, the aim of the pastrymakers in 1315 to produce delicate and wholesome pies and cakes which would reflect credit on the city and its craftsmen has perpetuated itself through the centuries. Toulouse, today, is famous for the products of its pastry shops. Pride of achievement in work well done, even though it were but a piece of woolen cloth, a fried cake, or a meat pie, was perhaps, the mediaeval gildsman's way of erecting for himself, like the old Roman poet, a monument more lasting than brass, for he saw in his finished product, the work of his own brawn and brain, the seal of his own individuality.

But more than this. Christian philosophy has always stressed the dignity of manual labor. Done as perfectly as is humanly possible and stamped with a pure intention, work becomes a prayer. A pertinent reflection follows. Modern industry with its eight-hour-a-day, forty-eight-hour-a-week, division-of-labor program, where the craftsman fits, minute after minute, his screw into the wheel of a Model A or toils at some similar task, denies the laborer a legitimate exercise of his creative ability, and deprives him of the right of turning out a finished product stamped with his own personal craftsmanship. In our materialistic pragmatic philosophy, work is a matter of dollars and cents. And pride or spiritual evaluation of its accomplishment seems to have been lost by the majority of contemporary toilers. But not so with the craftsman in mediaeval Toulouse. His repeated insistence that an act be done *pro amore Dei* is sufficient proof. It must be conceded, therefore, that he was wise in his simplicity.

When one turns to social life, one finds delightful touches of human relationships in Register I of the statutes of the gildsman of Toulouse. One reads of the dicemakers whose competitors were the merchants of Lombardy. These foreigners with their polished dice were not welcome in the shops in Toulouse.[28] There were the two bailiffs of the tile-makers who lost the copy of the statutes entrusted to them by the notary and whose difficulties in reproducing it were many.[29] There were the merchants of second-hand clothes who were forbidden to sell any bloody garment or one on which the stains of blood appeared and who had maintained busi-

[27] *Ibid.*, MS., 26, art. vii.

[28] *Statutum taxillorum,* MS., 16, art. v.

[29] *Statutum tegulariorum,* MS., 45.

ness relationships with Jews and Jewesses, despite the anti-racial attitude even in that day.[30] There were troubles between tailors and finishers of cloth [31] and evidences of quarrelsomeness among the butchers. And what is more interesting still, there were apparently rival claims between the king's *viguier* and the capitouls of the city for the support and allegiance of the gilds. This last fact lends importance to the political role of the craftsmen in municipal life, and intensifies the interest of the historian who sees a similar rivalry today for the support of labor in political issues. Such illustrations, drawn primarily from Register I of the *Statuts des corps de métiers,* merely suggest the possibilities which have been almost untouched by the student of social and industrial history.

Our conclusions are simply a reiteration of the introductory thesis: the gildsman of Toulouse was an interesting character and his statutes, a magic speculum. That no really scholarly study of him and his gild has thus far been made is surprising. Only a few individual statutes and incidental extracts have been transcribed. It is our hope to publish the statutes of the nineteen crafts contained in Register I. This will be merely a beginning. The rich deposit of gild documents in Toulouse and the correlated industrial materials in the municipal and departmental archives in Languedoc are a challenge to the technique and scholarship of historians. Theirs is the task of looking into that "magic speculum much gone to rust", it is true, "yet in fragments still clear," wherein the marvellous image of the mediaeval craftsmen of Toulouse "does still shadow itself," and of bringing him before us as he was in the age in which he lived, toiled, and died. Theirs too is the task of reiterating to a modern world struggling with international rivalries, business depressions, and unemployment, the life philosophy of the gildsman of the Middle Ages who sought honestly and faithfully to serve his neighbor, his community, and his God. He wrote his statutes to order his trade and reflected therein the social and religious life of his own world. In so doing, he has contributed to his generation and to ours, valuable suggestions concerned with economic justice and social security.

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[30] *Statutum pelheriorum,* MS., 21, art. xi.

[31] *Statutum retonditorum,* MS. 77, art. iii, iv.

THE RISE OF SECULARISM *

A pious sermon on Secularism would be a lighter undertaking than this search for its historical roots. The sermon could be a practical one, and it could be embellished with numerous scriptural texts. It would also be easier to plan a volume on the subject than to write a succinct essay.

An initial difficulty has to do with my title. Naturalism, Humanism, Neopaganism and Liberalism are fairly good synonyms for Secularism; and like it, each has half-a-dozen accepted historical meanings. As a system, a doctrine, a pseudo-philosophy, a view of life, a tendency or a mere attitude of mind, each contains elements of Liberal emancipation from restraint and moral law, of Humanist glorification of Man as the "master and measure of things," of Pagan striving for an earthly paradise, of Naturalist repudiation of a supernatural destiny. Since, however, a choice has to be made, let it be "Secularism," which we take to mean, in a broad way, the exclusion of religion from life. For the process which leads to Secularism, or results from it, we have the equally barbarous terms: secularization or laicization.

The term, first used in 1846, has been adopted as a label by a rather aggressively organized movement in England, around which a considerable literature has grown up. Free-thinking in its philosophy, utilitarian in its ethics, and dubiously ennobled by a humanitarian materialism, the organization was launched by a professed agnostic and a more logical atheist.[1] We are concerned here, however, not with this specific group and their antics (which incidentally are given more space in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* than in any of six or seven other reference works), but rather with the more general all-pervading modern disease which climaxes, or anti-climaxes, the long flight of humanity from God and the supernatural.

* Paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 29, 1938, Chicago, Illinois.

[1] George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906), and George Bradlaugh (1833-1891).

The title originally submitted was: "The Roots of Secularism." Since, however, Secularism is essentially a thing of the mind, the program editor thought it well to eliminate the "roots". Also, he may have suspected that in ranging over a wide area we should have little time to dig deep below the surface. "Sidelights on Secularism," or "Footnotes," would, perhaps, have been a more appropriate title. Our major objection to the word "Rise" is that the movement looks more like a descent.

If Commencement addresses are an index to the worries of educators, variations on the divorce-of-religion-from-life theme would seem to indicate the importance of Secularism at the present moment.[2] In fact, it was precisely the eloquent and slightly reck-

[2] In his address of January 4, President Roosevelt linked together religion, democracy and international good faith. These three institutions, he said, are under attack, and Americans must defend them. More striking still, the President insisted that religion is "the source of the other two." All this might have passed as a conventional platitude. But Walter Lippmann in his syndicated column a few days later (St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, January 9, 1939) hailed the President's message as "a landmark in the history of Western thought." It registers, says Mr. Lippmann, "a change of ideas which is absolutely fundamental." It marks "the reconciliation which is now in progress, after more than a century of destructive conflict, between patriotism, freedom, democracy and religion." On the following day, another columnist, the erratic Dorothy Thompson, enlarged upon the same topic. To round out the week, *The Christian Science Monitor*, in its special "Democracy Issue" of January 11, insists over and over again on the vital need of religion in a democratic society.

There is, of course, nothing new in these statements of editors and feature-writers. And yet, in their cumulative effect they are significant. First, there is the candid admission that secularized democracy has been on the wrong track, at least since the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Then we are told, "the root of evil" in Communism and "Fascism" is found in their anti-religious character. Finally, we have a deal of arguing from reason and from history to show that democracy must be religious if it is to survive. Surely, the general theme of this paper loses no weight by this sudden consensus of opinion from varied sources within a fortnight after the paper was read.

A few specific items may aid toward an appreciation of the importance of Secularism. The past twenty years, according to Lippmann, have revealed the fatal weakness and the fallacy in nineteenth century Democracy. Religion, long thought to be "negligible and antiquated," is the only foundation on which human liberty can be maintained. "It has been shown that the final resistance to tyranny in all the totalitarian regimes has been made not by the Communist parties,. . . not by the progressive democrats, . . . but by devoutly religious churchmen . . in obedience to God." On the other hand,

less use of history in one or two such addresses that led to whatever research is embodied in this paper. A more compelling spur to curiosity is the increasing prominence of "Secularism" in recent historical surveys and monographs. In his presidential address before this body seven years ago, as well as in a masterly chapter on the Reformation, Carlton Hayes sets down "secularization" as the effect of the sixteenth century upheaval which "in political and social significance to our modern age, outweighs all others." More recently, Geoffrey Bruun, in his very able study of the Napoleonic empire, assures us that "the most persistent and perhaps the most pervasive social trend since 1789 has been the consecration of the secular society."

Even better, if depressing, evidence of this trend almost hisses at the reader from the poisoned pages of a voluminous textbook [3] whose pagan author I will not name lest I add, however slightly, to his mounting sales. From him the student will learn that belief in God and the supernatural, the sense of sin and concern for the soul's salvation are outmoded superstitions. Modern sociology has supplanted medieval theology. A shadowy kingdom of heaven must no longer becloud human happiness in the kingdom of man. There is relief in the thought that students will miss most of the author's meaning. But implicitly and explicitly, from the revival

it is the brutal truth that secular Democratic philosophy has failed. A conflict, from which France is just emerging, "has divided, weakened and demoralized the whole Western world."

Miss Thompson finds the "only philosophical justification for democracy" in the "conception of man as a child of God . . . ," not, certainly, in the economic man of Communism, nor in the "biological product" of Nazi-ism. The practical reason for the recall of religion to public life she discerns in the fact that "all the great creative periods of history have embodied this concept of human dignity and individual responsibility before God," and have thus produced what is finest in art, literature, science, and heroic human conduct. Here we have the "only really perennially revolutionary idea." This oblique testimony of witnesses who are interested in democracy is first-rate evidence of the presence of Secularism, and of its growth to power. George Washington, in his Farewell Address, had more to say about the need of religion than Mr. Roosevelt. But in 1796 no one was likely to be startled by his statement of obvious fact.

[3] Harry Elmer Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (New York, 1937).

of the classics, through the Ages of Science, Reason and the Machine, he gloats over the triumphs of the "secularized human mind." With his facts and much of his interpretation saner men will, sadly enough, have to agree. Modern Progress has indeed been, for the most part, "a movement away from the meaning of the universe."[4]

Written history betrays the period in which it is written. It is as much an image of the present as of the past. Naturally, the secularized mind of today is delicately attuned to the forces by which it was formed. Civilization can be rightly proud of its conquests. But only because something has been lost in the process of sliding down and spreading out can our two-dimension existence be labeled, without qualification, an advanced stage of human progress. Secularized history further benumbs all efforts to recover from the low level of secular civilization. These remarks are open to misunderstanding, for which a definition of terms is only a partial solution. All around us are historians whose honest research lies in neutral areas, political, economic or other. We can admire their industry and be grateful for the services they render. It is only where God and religion are excluded, whether blindly or of set purpose, that we can speak of Secularism and secularization.

Our best laboratory specimen will be found in the totalitarian state,[5] German, Turk or Russian. The deification of nation, race or class is the logical and all but inevitable culmination of the secularizing process. The process itself is seen in a movement much

[4] Cf. Nicolai Berdyaev, *The End of Our Time* (London, Sheed & Ward, 1933). This and several other volumes by the same author expose the suicidal folly of the modern flight from God and the supernatural. Even where Berdiaev's metaphysics is misty he gives us a very stimulating philosophy of history.

[5] The totalitarian state is necessarily a Godless state, in which the individual, the family and the church are without essential rights. The point to stress here is that this sort of absolutism is possible only where religion has been reduced to servitude. It is one of the ironies of history that the Liberal, who sought emancipation from all "tyranny," was really the creator of the omnipotent modern state. Among recent writers on this subject Christopher Dawson is *facile princeps*. See especially his *Religion and the Modern State* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1935).

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closer to ourselves, for which there is no better tag than Liberalism. And in this country the noisiest, most dangerous group behind this down-hill movement are the " Progressive educationists."[6] Their pseudo-philosophy, like most of the "isms" and "ologies" of the past hundred years, deals with that non-existent being, that contradiction in terms, the autonomous creature who owes nothing to his Creator, and whose destiny is bounded by the grave. To this point has Secularism prepared the way for the next logical step into some form of "fascism."[7] Ten years ago, Walter Lippmann aptly characterized modern society in a line from old Aristophanes: "Whirl is king, having driven out Zeus."[8]

If your patience has not been unduly tried by the foregoing platitudes, we may now survey the long campaign of revolt or simple neglect by which God has been driven out of politics, business, and social life; out of the home, the school and, too frequently, even out of the church. For the most part, the process has been one of positive pursuit of earthly ends good in themselves, but entailing a gradual spiritual atrophy. In the field of thought and in the field of action, more remote results have rarely been intended. It would be interesting, and not at all difficult, to make a catalog of leaders whose well-meant efforts have produced evil effects *praeter intentionem,* as it were. Theologians and philosophers, scientists and statesmen would figure in the long list. Take as a capital example Isaac Newton. Religious-minded, pious even, this great inventor could not have foreseen how his "Natural Laws" would be misused to outlaw the God of Nature, how the "Newtonian world-machine" would obscure the workings of Providence and provide support for the earth-bound Rationalism of the eighteenth

[6] Geoffrey O'Connell, *Naturalism in American Education* (New York, Benziger, 1938), affords perhaps the best survey of the secularizing process in the field of education.

[7] Theoretically, Fascism is totalitarian. But as the name is loosely applied it loses all definite meaning. Salazar's Portugal, the Austria of Dollfuss and Schussnigg, and Franco's Spain, at least thus far, are far from any pretense at totalitarian rule. Practically, not even Mussolini's Italy is really " fascist ".

[8] In his *Preface to Morals* (New York, Macmillan, 1929). This very cleverly written book might just as well be called a Postscript to Morals. The author describes modern society as he saw it,—at the end of a long process of secularization.

century. Similar reflections could be made on the work of Luther, Adam Smith, Emmanuel Kant and a dozen others. The list would include both Renaissance popes and Protestant Reformers; it would include Richelieu along with Jean Jacques Rousseau; Descartes, as well as Thomas Malthus and Horace Mann.

This study is largely one of contrasts between the typically medieval and the typically modern: between a society organized under God and a society worshipping false gods or no god at all. In the high medieval period, whatever "the spotted actuality," religion came first in the accepted hierarchy of values. The Church wielded great powers and the clergy were honored because the business of salvation was deemed supremely important. As the modern world grows more modern, Church and clergy are expected to justify their position by their social utility. In the interim, politics forged above religion, only to be supplanted in its turn by economics. The state has taken over much of the property and many of the functions of the Church. Capitalist oligarchy or Communist clique, dictatorship or democracy, no present-day government (except Portugal, Nationalist Spain, and Ireland) thinks of yielding the primacy of honor or of power to religion. Politics, national and international, are "lost provinces," in which theology and the moral law are silent spectators, certainly no longer pretenders to sovereignty. That many look upon this as merely a recovery on the part of the state of its rightful position is but further evidence of the complete sway of Secularism over the modern mind. That the satisfied champion of lay civilization should forget or repudiate what he and his heroes among the makers of the modern mind owe to the reserve of energy stored up by the ascetical, monastic, self-effacing virtues of the Christian past is only natural. We may now trace the steps by which the change was effected.

With all due caution in the use of historical catch-words and catch-phrases, the historian may refer to the "Ages of Faith" as the period in which society was organized under God. Sometimes with a sneer, more frequently as a casual misleading expression of obvious fact, the medieval system is called a "Theocracy." Certainly the age which built the cathedrals, wrote the *Summa* and

the *Divina Comedia,* and organized the guilds and the universities; the age of the Crusades, of Cluny, of the Holy Roman Empire and of the all but imperial papacy was, whatever its faults and however vague its frontiers in time and space, an age in which religion held the primacy.

Ex Deo, ad Deum, per Christum is as convenient a formula as any to sum up the medieval philosophy of life. And the point to insist upon is not that the formula was uttered then, as it is today, by a few philosophers, but that it expressed the universal ideal, the ideal even of those whose lives were least likely to be in conformity with it. "There are," writes R. T. Tawney, "two basic medieval assumptions in regard to economic life: that economic interests are subordinate to the real business of life, which is salvation, and that economic conduct is one aspect of personal conduct, upon which, as upon parts of it, the rules of morality are binding."[9] At any rate there was never question of "purely economic" affairs, of business divorced from ethics, in a society in which even the most commonplace actions no less than the high thinking of university circles must not be allowed to jeopardize the soul's salvation. In fact, the complaint is heard that ethics almost smothered economics in its infancy. Precisely because in the rising towns the lay, or laicizing, spirit inevitably showed itself I quote a passage from Ernest Tröltsch: "With its great Cathedral and its intense religious life, with its arts and guilds consecrated by religious observance, its social provision for spiritual and temporal well-being, its Christian parish schools and charitable institutions, its peace and communal spirit, it [the town] is the zenith of the development of the medieval spirit." Unity, balance and perspective; *pax, ordo, justitia;* a definite hierarchy of values prevailed even in the prosaic, bread-and-butter humdrum life of the middle-classes—before the rise of the "middle-class mind."

If economics so readily admitted a higher jurisdiction, it is to be expected that the more spiritual provinces of government, education, philosophy, literature, art and science should fall into line. Philosophy was the "handmaid of theology"; the artist submitted

[9] Quoted in Cyril E. Hudson and M. B. Rickett, *The Church and the World* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1938), 238.

to canons of correct doctrine laid down by the clergy; architecture was in the service of the Church; literature served eternal truth; education was saturated with religion; the prince was, theoretically at least, the temporal arm of the spiritual power. Pages of apt quotation might be assembled to reinforce these generalities. Says Gierke:

> . . . all men [in the Middle Ages] shared one common concept of the universe, the supreme premises being regarded by medieval minds as no discoveries to be made by man, but as the divinely revealed substratum of all human science. . . . It was a system of thought which culminated in the idea of a community which God Himself had constituted . . . it sees the universe as one articulated Whole and every . . . Joint-Being or Single-Being . . . determined by the final cause of the Universe and a Whole with a final cause of its own . . . every earthly group must appear as an organic member of that Civitas Dei . . . God the absolutely One, is before all and above all the World's plurality, and is the one source and one goal of every Being. . . . Therefore in all the centuries of the Middle Age Christendom, which in destiny is identical with mankind, is set before us as a single universal Community, founded and governed by God Himself.[10]

From this high eminence, pulled down by a kind of spiritual gravity, civilization has slipped and slid into the slough of present-day Secularism. The atmosphere was perhaps too rarified; the vision too blinding. Humanity hungered for the freedom of the vast plain outside the City of God. The gradual loss of balance and perspective has found compensation in the multiplication of material comforts and conveniences. And the movement has been called Progress.

I turn once again to Gierke for a summary statement of pertinent facts:

> To the cradle of [medieval] Political Theory, [he writes,] the Ancient World brought gifts: an antique concept of the State and an antique concept of Law. Of necessity these would work a work of destruction upon the medieval mode of thought. . . . We see within the medieval husk an antique-modern kernel. Always waxing, it draws away all vital nutriment from the shell, and in the end the shell is broken . . .

[10] *Political Theories of the Middle Age.* Translated by Frederic William Maitland (Cambridge, 1927), 4-10.

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> the first forces to tread the way that leads away from the Middle Age were the champions of Papal Absolutism, though at first glance they seem so genuinely medieval. Then the study of Roman Law and the arguments for Imperial Absolutism. . . . A new and powerful impulse was given by the literary strife that broke forth in France and Germany when the fourteenth century was young: a strife over the relation between Church the State, in the course whereof many of the ideas of the Reformation and even many of the ideas of the French Revolution were proclaimed, though in scholastic garb by such men as Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham. Then along various routes the writers of the Conciliar Age forwarded, whether they liked it or not, the victorious advance of Antique-Modern forces. Finally in the fifteenth century Humanism broke with even the forms of the Middle Age.[11]

It is relatively easy to trace the progress of revolt, or of emancipation, if you will, in the writers of any period. Here, it is well to note, however, that Marsiglio and Occam worked in a congenial atmosphere, in a society receptive to criticism. Naturally, there was impatience with the "medieval synthesis", with a philosophy that was regarded as "final and complete", with an ecclesiastical-civil polity, too largely under clerical control. The natural activity of the human mind inevitably led to change; the liability of human mind to error begot the danger of change in the wrong direction. In fact, the more perfect the medieval synthesis, the more likely were its impatient critics to stray from the truth. Karl Adam sees western civilization "turned against Christ" long before the sixteenth century, and this in all departments of human endeavor. The "process of emancipation," he writes ". . . shook the scientific, economic and political forms of its life loose from their supernatural setting," and this entailed not only emancipation, but "a form of idolization of natural ends and orders." [12]

The positive factors in this new departure are the elementary stuff of history: in the political order, the embryo national state and its anti-papal, anti-clerical *légistes;* in the economic order, the rising towns and the middle classes; in the ecclesiastical order, the ultra-efficient business organization of the Church and the all too worldly bearing of the dominant clergy. In a society that had no

[11] *Ibid.*, 4-5.

[12] *Christ and the Western Mind* (New York, Macmillan, 1930), 27.

formal intention of abandoning Christian ideals, among men who could not have foreseen the more remote disintegrating effects of their actions, ambitious lawyers could make a presentable case for the "nationalism" and self-aggrandizement of a grandson of St. Louis. The townsmen who had built the cathedrals, honored their patron saints in their guilds and revealed their religious sentiment in the mystery plays, could feel that God's blessing was on their legitimate efforts to improve material conditions by devoting their energy to expanding industry and trade. The critics, even of the papacy found justification in the abuses which called loudly for a "reform in head and members."

Disregarding our recent revision of the history of the Renaissance, and omitting for the moment variations of meaning of the term, Humanism, we have at the dawn of the modern world a frankly and aggressively human, mundane, secular view of life. But, it should be noted, this is a secular tendency in a still formally Christian society. When the Italian Humanists turned back to the "glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" they found high human achievement to admire. There was a legitimate appeal in the lure of earthly warmth and color and beauty around them. Their fault lay in their loss of balance and self-control. Enamoured of the good things in God's creation, they burnt out their limited energies in the pursuit of earthly ends, with the consequent dulling of all sense of the supernatural. The spirit of Secularism is now out in the open. Repudiating its debt to the saner Middle Ages, it will sweep on as Humanism, Naturalism, Rationalism, Liberalism, stimulated by conquest after conquest, until it arrives exhausted at what Berdyaev calls "the end of our time."

In the religious upheaval effected by Luther and Calvin we have at once a reaction against Italian Secularism and a revolt against integral Christianity. Luther provided an unstable substitute for the universal Church of Christendom and, without intending to do so, released the appetites of princes and people who preferred present success to their soul's salvation. Exaggerating a half-truth, the reformers generally exalted the lay society and furthered a Secularism which they would now disown.

Partly as cause and partly as effect of the religious upheaval, we have the gigantic spoliations of Church property, called euphemistically "reforming the Church." Powerful princes and their greedy supporters, clerical as well as lay, robbed the poor and robbed the dead. And their apologists ever since have been loud in their indignation at the "wealth of the Church." Perhaps, the example of wholesale pillage most familiar to my audience is the Henrician "Suppression of the Monasteries." But a like practice has been the rather accepted concomitant of revolutions throughout Europe. Confiscation, with or without extenuating circumstances, fills a long chapter of ecclesiastical history from Charles Martel down to the Spanish tragedy of the present decade. The defenseless Church has been forced, in modern times, to finance movements aimed at her destruction. There is some variety in the story that runs through the Reformation and its aftermath, through the *Aufklärung*, the early French Revolution, the great Secularization of 1803, and the anti-clerical-Liberal-Nationalist pillages of the past century. But the essential technique is very much the same everywhere. The might of the state loosens the grip of the "dead hand" of the Church with facile disregard of property rights. And usually a later concordat validates all titles to stolen goods. Usually also, few tears are shed, resistance is ridiculously weak, and so far as I can recall, there are no martyrdoms. Moreover, secularization of ecclesiastical wealth, which cripples Catholic schools, hospitals and public welfare agencies, means a positive advance in state control over the same institutions. Secularization, in its modern form, dates from the Reformation. The Secularist attitude of mind, a product of the Renaissance, thrives upon it, and continues to promote it.

The movements and counter-movements of the Renaissance-Reformation era are too complex to be reduced to a formula. The Italian with his shameless quest of sensual satisfaction and the Northerner bent upon trade, business and money-making scarcely belong in the same category. Luther and Machiavelli have little in common. Yet, all the active forces of the period, aside from the Catholic Reform, did somehow tend to discredit the medieval ideal, and thus contribute to the growth of Secularism. Luther and

Calvin were religious-minded men whose immediate influence checked the advance of Humanism. But they provided a "new way of salvation outside the old Church," and encouraged an aggressive lay society to dispense with the sacraments, the priesthood and the papacy. Whatever their positive contribution to Nationalism, autocratic absolutism, Democracy and Capitalism, one can readily perceive that the Book which they set up in place of the Rock of Peter was a less effective curb on the dynamic forces of the time. Ultimately, the modern world would reject much of what Luther held dear, but it should never forget its debt to him.

A disproportionate amount of space has been given to the first century of the modern era. We must hurry over the Scientific Revolution which filled the years between Copernicus and Newton. Surely, science has been a most important factor in the making of the modern mind, and more specifically in the triumph of Secularism. By softening the hardships of the struggle for a comfortable existence, and by eliminating much pain and suffering, it has brought men closer to an earthly paradise, and so made them forgetful of a higher destiny. By taxing the energies and absorbing the interest of its successful devotees it has brought on a sort of spiritual apathy. Newton demanded an "Intelligent Agent" to operate his "world-machine"; Newtonians, of smaller mental calibre, lost themselves in the marvelous intricacies of the "machine" and ignored its only rational explanation. One might enumerate a long list of geniuses, Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, Leibnitz, for example, who stood on a level nearer to God than most of their blind followers. Science, under the guidance of a sound philosophy, provides healthy exercise for the human mind. But Science usurping the role of philosophy, like philosophy contemptuous of theology, has often led the fallible scientist into ridiculous excesses. Science (and the same may be said of trade, industry and finance) has promoted Secularism. But it did so in a world that had already set its foot on the downward slope.

In the Deist-Rationalist eighteenth century, the weeds of Secularism flourished in a congenial soil. For the believer in divine revelation, or in human reason for that matter, this worldly-minded century is among the saddest and most sickly. God is merely an

absentee director of a self-operating corporation. Man is concerned, if we judge by the most vocal spokesmen of the time, in building a "heavenly city" according to earthly blue-prints. The nineteenth century reveals an astounding array of brilliant material achievements on a low moral and spiritual plane. Science had passed from the empirical to the "rational" stage. The older trial-and-error methods of the lone inventor gave way to the specialist's more deliberate, methodical, piece-by-piece conquest of nature. Quantity supplanted quality. The processes of nature were fast being reduced to mathematical formulae. The more palpable the evidence of law, order and intelligent design, the more sure were the "Scientists" that they had a purely mechanical universe which somehow functioned without need of a Creator. Man himself, if not considered a mere mechanism, was classified among the higher animals. Darwinian "Evolution" supplemented the secularizing effects of "Science." That there was a curious lack of logic in excluding God from the world chiefly because the world had turned out to be more marvelous and intricate than former generations had suspected did not trouble the "moulders of thought" nor their unthinking victims.

Added to this was the devastating attack of Biblical criticism upon the untenable position of Biblical Christians. The Protestant position was badly battered. While Catholics could wait for waves of pseudo-scholarship to subside, the various sects saw the foundations of their "faith" crumble away. At an earlier date, Rationalism and Pietism had been the divergent reactions to doctrinal differences. In the nineteenth century the violence of external attack combined with fatigue, indifference and absorption in worldly pursuits to give Secularism a wide vogue among non-Catholics. As for Catholics, the Syllabus of 1864 (to which may be added the Syllabus of 1907) remains an authentic index to the dangers to which they were exposed. Millions of Catholics were, of course, tainted with Secularism. And yet, providentially, as we like to think, there was a stirring of the Spirit in hidden places, and a gathering of strength for the battle of the present.

In a survey of this kind, one recalls a score of freak philosophers and more or less well-intentioned social reformers whom it is hard

to dismiss with a mere passing mention. For better, and certainly for worse, Francis Bacon, Locke and Emmanuel Kant; Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopedistes; Comte, Spencer and Mill; Hegel, Marx and Dewey—all have helped to make man satisfied with his earthly paradise and to incapacitate him for any vision above his eye-brows or beyond the horizon of his senses.

In the practical order, there has been and still is an organization, frankly Naturalistic in its inspiration, its aims and its mysterious, hidden operations, an international brotherhood, which in Latin nations has been fitly branded as the "Synagogue of Satan," and which throughout the world is, potentially at least, a counter-Church. Good Freemasons may disclaim any part in machinations charged against the Grand Orient and its affiliated groups, but Freemasonry itself looks very much like the visible embodiment of the Secular spirit.

It would have been wiser, perhaps, to have taken my cue from Walter Lippmann, who traces a "losing battle of six hundred years," in which the Church has lost control of province after province of human life. The treatment would thus have been topical rather than chronological. Positive Law, for instance, has been secularized to the extent of ignoring all crimes against God, to say nothing of the "Natural Law," which seems to have welled up from the depths, with no dependence upon a higher Will. Ethics, too, among the Humanists and, of course, the Deists, learned to throw off all allegiance to religion. Closely associated with this is the further aberration which makes religion merely a guarantee of morality. The anti-climax is reached in those churches which in recent times have too frequently accepted the hard necessity of competing on secular ground with the more efficient agencies of amusement and recreation. Then there is the family, fighting or refusing to fight a hopeless battle likewise on secular grounds against divorce, contraception and easy matrimony. In education, from the "little red schoolhouse" to the state university, perverse nature receives the aid of public support in the warping process. And if, parenthetically, there is discernible within the past few

weeks[13] a quickening reaction from the anti-God madness of the Comintern, one hears only the definitely secular argument for religion as a prop for the social order. To mention our controlled Press is to open a question that can be treated only with a despairing sigh. In our declining art and literature there is much palpable evidence of the waxing spirit of Secularism.

It has been maintained that "industrialism and city life have been more subversive than all the scientific theories together." "The religious revolution of the past forty years, the crowding of religion into a minor place by a host of secular faiths and interests" is explained by standardization and mechanization, by the "hot breath of the machine" and the glare of electric signs.[14] A growing sense of man's dependance upon the machine and upon his fellow-workers has supplanted his conscious relationship with God. The automobile, the movies, the Sunday paper and the golf links are the powerful allies of Secularism against the empty churches. In the light of these statements the importance of the Industrial Revolution, now mentioned for the first time, looms large indeed.

Explicitly, little has been said about the relations of Church and State. In the modern world, the story has been called "a history of progress toward laicization." The most significant single date in this "progress" was unquestionably 1648, when the pope was elbowed out of European diplomacy and the definitely secular Treaty of Westphalia was fortified by the formal exclusion of any protest on religious grounds. But here the object of our tears should be Europe and not the papacy. We incline to agree with Professor Eckhardt[15] that the growing moral prestige of the Holy See is

[13] When this was written, early in December, there was much discussion in the St. Louis newspapers about the need of religion in the public schools. Religion, it was contended, would counteract radical tendencies.

[14] Cf. J. H. Randall, "The Forces that are Destroying Traditional Beliefs," in *Current History*, XXX (June, 1929), 355-362. Professor Randall's *Making of the Modern Mind* (New York, 1926) is about as near as anything we have to a history of Secularism.

[15] *The Papacy and World Affairs, as Reflected in the Secularization of Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 1937). Professor Eckhardt makes 1648 the crucial year in papal politics. The pope, once the arbiter of Europe, saw his protests ignored by anticipation. In building the new Europe the princes, Catholic and Protestant, looked only to their secular interests. Richelieu and

ample compensation for the loss of diplomatic influence. Governments have been high-handed and ruthless in their dealings with the Church. But if the external losses of the Church are great, the Europe which succumbed to a devitalizing Secularism has lost immeasurably more.

The medieval synthesis was not wholly satisfactory, and there are elements of good in the modern merry-go-round. In fact, civilization is still running on momentum generated during centuries of Christian sacrifice. It might not be inept to liken the two ages to a peasant of sound constitution in his jumper and clogs on the one hand and an anemic socialite surrounded by mechanical toys on the other. The present crisis in the whole social order can well be made the occasion of a return to reason and revelation, and of a recovery from the disease of Secularism. At least, we should be conscious of an historical phenomenon which, like a name written large across a map, is so big that most readers miss it altogether; and we should be critical of historiographers who regard the lowering of spiritual vitality as a mark of humanity's progress.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

Mazarin, two cardinals who were statesmen rather than churchmen, Frenchmen rather than Catholics, must bear a large share of the responsibility for the change. With them politics and diplomacy held the primacy over the merely religious. If Richelieu saw a way to save the situation for the Church, he died too soon, and his successor apparently gave little thought to the claims of religion.

As usual political theory paralleled events in the seventeenth century. But the new science seems to have been quite as influential as the diplomacy of princes and ministers. For example, Grotius, in his *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625), "modernized the theory of natural law" in harmony with science and the "rising reverence for mathematics," but stopped short of the "mechanization of nature." Two decades later, Thomas Hobbes, in several works, reduced the "human animal" to a "psychological mechanism." Hobbes was an important progenitor of nineteenth century utilitarian Secularism. Cf. George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York, 1937), 455-475.

MISCELLANY

I.

The Centenary of the Ludwig-Missionsverein: 1838-1938

On December 12, 1938, the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its founding. The centenary deserves the attention of Catholic American historians, for this Bavarian society made very valuable contributions to the development of our country during the pioneer period, as Dr. Charles G. Herbermann indicated more than twenty years ago when he wrote:

> We knew that this society had rendered great services to American Catholicity reckoned in dollars and cents, but few of us are aware that we owe to them the Benedictine Fathers, the Sisters of St. Dominic, the School Sisters of Notre Dame and many Liguorian and Jesuit missionaries whose names have become a household word in the land. By drawing attention to such facts instead of confining their statements to the money charities, the historian will impress on us the truth that we owe much of our present feeling of unity both in Church and State to the generosity of our kind brethren in Europe.[1]

The "dollars and cents" quotient of the Ludwig-Missionsverein can be disposed of quite satisfactorily if we consult the annual financial reports of the Society contained in the Munich *Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung,* which was first issued in 1848. During the four previous years the reports appeared in the *Annalen* of Einsiedeln. Between 1839 and 1844, most of the alms were sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons and can not be traced distinctly. This much can be said with certainty that, from 1844 to 1916, the Ludwig-Missionsverein donated to our country 1,403,658.82 gulden and 1,380,981.26 marks, or approximately $892,898.23 in American currency. If we add the amounts donated from 1839 to 1844, the traveling expenses of missionaries which are not always clearly indicated, and the many gifts of King Louis I of Bavaria, one million dollars would not seem an exaggerated sum total of the alms donated by the Ludwig-Missionsverein for the use of the Church in the United States.[2]

[1] "The United States Catholic Historical Society," *Catholic Historical Review,* II (1916-17), 306.

[2] For statistics and a complete bibliography, see Theodore Romer, O.M.Cap., *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States: 1838-1918.* Washington, D. C., 1933, vol. xvi, *Studies in American Church History.*

As Dr. Herbermann states, this is only one part of the benefactions of the society. The Catholic historian will, for instance, find the records of the Society of inestimable value. The Munich *Annalen der Glaubensverbreitung* (1848-1916) contain about three hundred letters and extended excerpts of letters written by bishops, priests and religious of the United States. Since the originals were usually not preserved after printing, these printed letters are most valuable for the information they convey on the progress of the Church in the United States. A more important source of historical facts, however, is to be found in the archives of the Society at Munich. Approximately 2,300 original American letters are preserved in these archives. They are arranged in *dossiers* according to dioceses.[3] As can be seen from their perusal, these letters were written for the greater part without any idea of publication, but solely for the information of the central committee when considering the distribution of alms. They were checked by information that was asked from those who were well known to the central committee and usually have the approval of the respective bishop. From these reports the growth of whole parishes and religious communities can thus be checked and at times almost complete histories could be written from them. At the same time, they give those intimate cross-cuts that guide the historian in forming his conclusions. The Catholic historian can not afford to pass over these records when he is writing about the German influence in the pioneer period of our country, especially in the great movement toward the West.

The historian will probably be led to speculate on the results for the Church in the United States if the Ludwig-Missionsverein had not been founded. God alone knows what would have happened to the Faith of the German immigrant if he had not been given the opportunity to make use of his native tongue in the performance of his religious duties. Would he have followed the lead of the English-speaking Catholics, or would he have joined the atheistic Forty-eighters who dominated so much of German thought in this country? The Jesuit Father Weninger reported this to Munich:

> There [in Pennsylvania] I had the peculiar experience of understanding how correct is the principle of Bishop Henni: "Language keeps Faith." In truth, it would be risky and dangerous to sacrifice the German language among the Germans of this country and stubbornly anglicize everything. The Irish and English priests want this and cry out: "One people, one language." Very true, if there were one people, and if the majority of this people were Catholic. But that is contrary to fact, and will be for another century, probably until the end of the world, at least as long as the German immigration continues. The Germans living here, who no

[3] Cf. Joseph A. Schaebert, "The Ludwig-Missionsverein", *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII (1922), 23-41.

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longer speak German although they are of German stock, very easily unite themselves with the English-speaking sectarians. The German character will never bear a union with the Irish. Rather than go to the Irish churches, the Germans will stay at home or will visit a meeting-house of the sectarians. Further, English-speaking German girls do not hesitate to marry unbelieving Americans; and the Faith is lost in the next generation. Experience proves this in Pennsylvania. Where the Germans had their German schools and spoke only German, they are as faithful to their Religion as they or their parents were a hundred years ago when they left the ship. Where English has supplanted German entirely, the condition of Religion is unreliable and precarious.—This teaches the important lesson not to hurry matters, but to cultivate the German language among the Germans until conditions change, according to the circumstances in different parts of the country.[4]

Such reports convinced the central committee of the Society that the prime necessity for the German immigrants was the ministration of good priests who spoke the German language and were conversant with the conditions of our country. Since the small country of Bavaria could not be relied upon to furnish sufficient priests willing to accept the sacrifices of the missions, the Society in its earliest days conceived the idea of educating young men to serve in the ministry of the New World. The Redemptorists were approached in this matter and they agreed to take charge of a seminary for this purpose at Altoetting, the famous place of pilgrimage in Bavaria. Arrangements were going forward to carry this plan into execution when the Redemptorist Provincial again cancelled it because he thought it outside the scope of the Congregation's constitution. A new proposal was now made in an anonymous article, "Über die Missionen," which appeared in the *Augsburger Postbeitung,* November 8, 1845. As was later revealed, the article was written by the Rev. Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B. In a report some years later he summarized his proposal as follows:

My proposal was this: The mission seminary should not be in Germany nor in Europe, but in America. Because large sums of money would be required to build and maintain a suitable edifice, to gather an endowment sufficient to pay the teachers and keep the pupils and because it would be difficult to procure the right personnel, fit and capable for the administrative and professorial duties, finally because the existence of such an institution would always remain precarious, therefore I thought it better to have the money used to found monasteries of St. Benedict, the members of which Order would consider it their first duty to work faithfully as missionaries and to educate boys and young men as missionaries for the Americans. In order to do this well, they would buy large tracts of land,

[4] *Annalen,* XXVI (1858), 282.

would cultivate them with the help of lay-brothers, and would thus have sufficient means to care for all in the seminary.[5]

This proposal was received with enthusiam by the central council of the Ludwig-Missionsverein and Father Boniface was asked to put the plan into execution under the guidance of the Society, which would support it with all available financial means. Thus the Ludwig-Missionsverein, with the consent of the Benedictine superiors, sent Father Boniface to the United States to start the first Benedictine foundation at Latrobe, Pennsylvania. The active interest of the Society continued unabated while the foundations of St. Vincent's Abbey were laid and while it grew into a large abbey and became the mother of other abbeys. These in turn were supported during the years of expansion until this chain of abbeys became the American-Cassinese Benedictine Congregation. Benedictine Sisters for the parochial schools were also brought from Bavaria by Father Boniface and were in turn given abundant assistance by the Society. Thus, through the Benedictines, the Ludwig-Missionsverein made a deep impression upon the early Church in the United States.

Besides the Benedictines, we also owe the School Sisters of Notre Dame directly to the Ludwig-Missionsverein. And there can be no doubt that their impression on our parochial school system was profound. Of them Dr. Kagerer said in his sermon on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Society:

> On July 1, 1847, six Poor School Sisters, under the leadership of their General Superioress Theresa Gerhardinger, set out from Bavaria for North America to start a new foundation beyond the ocean for their recently established congregation. Again it was King Louis I who first advised this foundation and who contributed 23,000 gulden for the establishment of the houses at Milwaukee and Baltimore. Only a year later (1848) eleven other Sisters followed the first, and from the first three small establishments at Marysville, Pittsburgh and Baltimore, there have developed two large motherhouses with 182 missions, in which 1,694 Sisters instruct, care for and educate more than 60,000 children, 1,755 of whom are orphans. After the grace of God, this great development and progress, which has gone forth over all America like a mighty stream, is largely due to the Ludwig-Missionsverein, which has generously assisted the Poor School Sisters.[6]

Thus the Ludwig-Missionsverein was directly responsible for the coming of the Benedictines and the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The Society was also partly responsible for the coming of the German Ursulines and the Dominican Sisters of Regensburg. Assistance in the early struggles

[5] *Annalen*, XXIV (1856), 371.

[6] *Annalen*, LVII (1889), 13-14.

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was generously given to the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, the Sisters of the Third Order Regular, the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi, the Sisters of St. Agnes, the Sisters of Christian Charity, and the Sisters of Divine Providence.

Although the Redemptorists came to our country through the Leopoldinen-Stiftung of Vienna and were actively supported by that mission society,[7] the Ludwig-Missionsverein gave possibly more pecuniary assistance to this Congregation than to any other. It also contributed larger or smaller sums, but always at times vital to the development of the respective community, to the Jesuits, Premonstratensians, Carmelites, Franciscans, Conventuals, Capuchins, Vincentians, Holy Ghost Fathers and Salvatorians.

Among the bishops the Society was specially interested in Bishop Henni of Milwaukee, particularly in his seminary and his training school for lay teachers. It contributed freely to all bishops who were interested in the German immigrants, to all priests who worked amongst them. And thus a stream of contributions could be traced from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Society helped in the education of candidates for the priesthood in various American dioceses by sending annual contributions for this purpose to the American College at Louvain, just as it had done for some years to the college at Münster. It helped busy pastors build churches and schools. It provided means for the embellishment of these churches. In a word, the Society did all it could to help the immigrant keep the Faith. This was done by the Ludwig-Missionsverein in the small German country of Bavaria. Efforts were made to interest other German principalities, but little success was registered in those countries. Therefore all credit for the good that was accomplished must be given to the Catholics of that little land.

The prime agent in creating this interest was Bishop Rese of Detroit. He knew how successful Bishop Du Bourg of New Orleans had been with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. He himself had been very successful in having the Leopoldinen-Stiftung started in Austria in the year 1829. At the same time he had made attempts to have a similar society for the American missions founded in Bavaria, but he ran up against the iron will of King Louis I, who would permit only occasional collections. In 1838, Bishop Rese finally persuaded the king to see the importance of such a Society for the German immigrants, but he also had to reckon with the interest of King Louis in the Oriental missions, especially in the Holy Land. Therefore the Ludwig-Missionsverein became more universal than the Leopoldinen-Stiftung, which lost its existence in the World War. The Ludwig-Missionsverein still exists as the Bavarian branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

[7] Cf. Theodore Roemer, "The Leopoldine Foundation in the United States," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Monograph Series*, XIII (1933), 194-197.

After the preliminary attempts at orientation in the distribution of alms, and after opposition from the Lyons Society, the Ludwig-Missionsverein became entirely independent in 1844. From that year until 1916 the Society never relaxed its interest in the German emigrant; it extended its helping hand also to the Indian and Negro. And there can be no mistake about it that King Louis I of Bavaria, even after his abdication in 1848, was the guiding spirit and the protector of the Society until his death in 1868. Even after his death the frequent references to him show how strong was his influence over the Society. Next to him, we owe most to the king's chaplain, Canon Joseph Ferdinand Müller, the first business manager of the Society. He knew well how to direct the attention of the king and the interest of the officials to the American missions in a sympathetic and common-sense manner. He was able to grasp difficult situations and to arrange for assistance to the satisfaction of all. Others whose names occur frequently in connection with the alms sent to the United States are Oberkamp, Kagerer, Brückl, Lebling and Pfistermeister. A song of praise could be sung for each in gratitude for their untiring zeal in matters American.[8]

Mindful of these facts, given only in a very cursory manner, we ought therefore extend our hand in congratulation to the Ludwig-Missionsverein on the completion of its first century of existence. The descendants of the German immigrants will, we hope, pause in grateful acknowledgment of the debt they owe to the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Bavaria. All of us can echo the sentiments of gratitude expressed by the bishops assembled for the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, when they thanked God for having provided a Ludwig-Missionsverein for the needs of the Church in the United States.

THEODORE ROEMER.

[8] Two recently printed volumes have been published by Father Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B., *Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., und König Ludwig I. von Bayern,* and *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern.*

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II.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association

Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30, 1938

Concurrently with fourteen other national and regional historical groups, the American Catholic Historical Association held its nineteenth annual meeting in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28, 29 and 30, 1938. The organization of the three-day sessions was in the capable hands of the president of Loyola University, the Very Reverend Samual Knox Wilson, S.J., Ph.D., chairman of the committee on local arrangements. This committee was composed of representatives of the Catholic colleges and universities of Chicago and vicinity. Its members were: Rev. Mathias Braun, S.V.D., St. Mary's Mission House, Techny, Illinois; Rev. Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., Ph.D., St. Viator College Alumni Association, Bourbonnais; Sister Mary Celeste, R.S.M., Ph.D., St. Xavier College for Women, Chicago; Sister Mary Evelyn, O.P., Ph.D., Rosary College, River Forest; Rev. Harry C. Koenig, S.T.D., St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein; Rev. George Lescher, Quigley Preparatory Seminary, Chicago; Rev. William J. McNamara, C.S.C., Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana; Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B.V.M., Ph.D., Mundelein College, Chicago; Miss Margaret E. Richardson, Barat College, Lake Forest; Mr. Richard Schnettler, De Paul University, Chicago; Rev. Timothy Sparks, O.P., Dominican House of Studies, River Forest; Rev. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., St. Mary's College, Hinsdale; and Dr. Frank Weberg, College of St. Francis, Joliet. Dr. Paul Kiniery and Mr. Mark Guerin, both of Loyola University, were secretary and assistant secretary, respectively, of the committee. The committee on registration and information had as its chairman Mrs. Francis James Rooney of Mundelein College with some twenty young ladies representing Mundelein College, Barat College of the Sacred Heart, St. Xavier College, Rosary College, and the College of Saint Francis. The committee on publicity had as its chairman, Francis J. Rooney, A.M., LL.B., assistant dean of the Law School of Loyola University. Over one hundred and thirty patrons and patronesses contributed generously to the expenses of the meeting. At the final meeting of the executive council of the Association, Wednesday morning at nine o'clock, it was voted to elect Martin R. P. McGuire, Ph.D., dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Catholic University of America, a member of the permanent committee on publications in place of the late Very Rev. Francis Augustine Walsh,

O.S.B., Ph.D. It was also voted to hold the meeting in 1939 in Washington, D. C.

The management of the Stevens Hotel placed the spacious and handsome Boulevard Room at the disposal of the ASSOCIATION and here all the sessions were held. The opening Public Session had as its chairman, Monsignor Thomas V. Shannon, LL.D., pastor of the Church of St. Thomas Apostle, Chicago. Three papers were read, the first by Sister Mary Ambrose, B.V.M., of Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, on *The Social and Religious Life of the Gildsman of Toulouse,* which appears in this issue of the REVIEW. Rev. Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., Ph.D., of Marquette University, followed with a paper on *The Significance of the Frontier to the Historian of the Catholic Church in the United States.* The January issue of the REVIEW carried the essay of Edward P. Lilly, Ph.D., of Loyola University, entitled *A Major Problem for Catholic American Historians.* At the Luncheon Conference that same day, Sister M. Evelyn, O.P., of Rosary College, presided, and Sister M. Celeste Leger, R.S.M., Ph.D., dean of Saint Xavier College, read a paper on *A Proposed Reorganization of History Teaching in the Catholic Colleges of the United States.* The chief points stressed in her essay were the need of a restatement of objectives in history teaching based upon ultimate values, the method of reorganizing the history curriculum and the courses of the same, the reorganization of instructional procedures and teacher training and the responsibility of the individual teacher to his chosen field. The discussion which followed was led by Miss Hope Frances Kane, Ph.D., head of the department of history in the College of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods. Others who participated in the discussion were Dr. McGuire and Dr. Ziegler of the Catholic University of America, Herbert C. F. Bell, Ph.D., of Wesleyan University, a past president of the ASSOCIATION, Rev. Dr. Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., of Fordham University, and the late Father John J. Laux of Covington, Ky.

The annual business meeting was held at three p.m., with the president of the ASSOCIATION, Ross J. S. Hoffman, Ph.D., of Fordham University, as chairman. The reports as read now follow:

1. REPORT OF THE TREASURER (REV. DR. CARTWRIGHT):

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FROM DECEMBER 1, 1937 TO DECEMBER 1, 1938

ACCOUNT I. GENERAL FUND

INVESTMENTS—December 1, 1937		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1937	$1,038.59	
RECEIPTS:		
Annual Dues	2,919.93	
Life Membership	100.00	
Interest (From Investments)	165.00	
Contributions to Philadelphia Meeting	532.50	

Donation to Association (Mundelein College)		25.00	
Cash Sales of *Catholic Historical Review*		2.00	
Contributions to the Chicago Meeting		180.00	
		$4,963.02	$5,500.00
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Office Expense:			
Rent of Office and Telephone Service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and Service	250.08		
Office Secretary's Salary	750.00		
		$1,074.08	
Expenses of Philadelphia Meeting		751.52	
Advance Expenses of the Chicago Meeting		87.65	
Expenses of the *Catholic Historical Review*		1,752.15	
Donations (*Writings on American History*)		100.00	
Rent of Safety Deposit Box		5.50	
Returned Checks and Bank Charges		10.50	
		$3,781.40	
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1938		$1,181.62	
INVESTMENTS—December 1, 1938			$5,500.00

ACCOUNT II. REVOLVING FUND FOR PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS

CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1937	$ 26.99	
RECEIPTS:		
U. S. Ministers to the Papal States	167.62	
2 American Catholic Historical Association *Papers*	4.00	
		$ 198.61
DISBURSEMENTS:		
J. H. Furst & Company	$ 8.82	
Check Returned	5.00	
		$ 13.82
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1938		$ 184.79

SUMMARY

INVESTMENTS:		
ACCOUNT I		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND:		
ACCOUNT I	$1,181.62	
ACCOUNT II	184.79	
TOTAL CASH BALANCE		1,366.41
GRAND TOTAL		$6,866.41

2. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS (DR. LEO F. STOCK):

The committee on publications respectfully submits the following report.

It is well each year to remind the members of the permanent contributions which the ASSOCIATION has made and is making, by way of publication, to the interests of Catholic historical scholarship.

1. The *Catholic Historical Review* will begin, with the April, 1939, issue, its 25th volume. It is not to be expected that the management of our quarterly should be beyond criticism, or that the result should meet perfectly the needs and expectations of all classes of our readers. But when it is remembered that there can be no full-time editorial service; that financial stringency makes it necessary to limit the number of pages of every issue and to seek gratuitous contributions; and that the interests of our members are probably more diverse than are those of other historical societies, the editors (themselves not always satisfied with their efforts) feel that the REVIEW has made a distinct place for itself in the ranks of historical periodicals and in the service of Catholic scholarship.

During the year the general *Index* to the first 20 volumes was published and distributed to subscribers. Your committee again wishes to thank the Rev. Dr. Harold J. Bolton for his unselfish labor in compiling the index.

Before leaving the subject of the REVIEW, your chairman wishes to express his deep and very real regret that he is obliged to resign as co-editor, a position he has held for ten years. No work has ever been more pleasant. But the necessity of making more rapid progress on his series of parliamentary proceedings and debates respecting the American Colonies, sponsored by Carnegie Institution of Washington to whose work he owes first service, makes this resignation imperative. I wish to register my appreciation of the happy contacts made during the years of my editorship with fellow-editors, the authorities of the Catholic University of America, and office assistants; and especially to express anew my admiration of the indefatigable labors and high aims for the REVIEW of Monsignor Guilday with whom I have so harmoniously worked.

2. Your committee, because of the varied and unrelated character of the papers which were read at the Philadelphia meeting of 1937, and to be read at the present meeting, does not plan to include those contributions in the series of *Papers*, three volumes of which have so far been issued. Most of the papers of the 1937 meetings have appeared in the pages of the REVIEW; those of the 1938 meeting, not otherwise provided for, will likewise appear in those pages. But if the present plans of the programme committee for the 1939 meeting mature, your committee will recommend that the papers to be read at the Washington meeting be presented in a fourth volume of the *Papers*.

3. Because of lack of funds no progress was made during the year on the second volume of *Documents* which, as has several times been reported, will contain the Instructions and Despatches of the U. S. Consuls to the Papal States. This material has been copied in full; but it must be collated with the originals before the work of editing is begun. It will

be unfortunate, for many reasons, if this work is not resumed and hastened to completion in the near future. Perhaps some member of the Association may know of a generously-disposed person who might welcome the opportunity of furthering this worthy and important project.

4. Finally, your committee regrets to report the death, during the year, of the Rev. Dr. Francis Augustine Walsh, O.S.B., a former member of this committee. May his soul rest in peace.

3. Report of the Committee on Membership (Rev. Francis A. Mullin, Ph.D.):

The committee on membership has the honor of presenting the following annual report as of December 15, 1938:

Total membership on December 15, 1937		768
Delinquent members	51	
Resignations during 1938	25	
Loss by death during 1938	14	
	—	90
Total		678
New Members, 1938		55
Total membership (December 15, 1938)		733

The new Annual Members are: Rev. John Henry Archibald, Youngstown, Ohio; Rev. Leonard Bacigalupo, O.F.M., L.G., St. Francis Seminary, Lowell, Mass.; John E. Baxter, K.S.G., Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rev. Daniel J. Brady, Jersey City, N.J.; Rev. Joseph H. Brady, Ph.D., S.T.D., Seton Hall College, South Orange, N.J.; Eugene Byrne, Ph.D., New York, N.Y.; Miss Mary R. Callan, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Thomas R. Carey, LL.D., S.T.B., Ann Arbor, Michigan; Rev. Cyril J. Cone, A.M., Evansville, Ind.; Herbert H. Coulson, M.A. (Contab.), St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. Eugene Joseph Crawford, Amityville, N.Y.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. W. A. Cummings, D.D., Oak Park, Illinois; Mr. Edward A. Doehler, Ph.D., Baltimore, Maryland; Rev. John Edward Doherty, A.B., Gilbertville, Mass.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. James J. Donnelly, D.D., Fitchburg, Mass.; Rev. George Driscoll, Sag Harbor, N.Y.; Joseph Dunn, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Patrick J. Ford, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Paul Gallagher, M.D., El Paso, Texas; Rev. Joseph E. Hanz, Ph.D., Beloit, Wisconsin; Rev. P. J. Higgins, S.J., Worcester, Mass.; Rev. Frederick A. Houck, Toledo, Ohio; Rev. Nicholas Judermanns, M.A., Melbourne, Ky.; Rev. C. J. Kane, Rahway, N.J.; Rev. Harold E. Keller, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. Joseph Lawlor, West Hampstead, L.I.; Rev. J. H. Ludder, Huntington, L.I.; Rev. Richard C. Madden, M.A., Georgetown, S.Car.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. L. A. McBride, D.D., Erie, Pa.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. James J. McCaffrey, D.D., Kansas City, Missouri; Rev. Leo J. McCormick, S.T.D., Baltimore, Maryland; Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. Francis A. McIntyre, D.D., Chancellor, New York City; Alice McLarney, Ph.D., Far Rockaway, N.Y.; Rev. Russell J. McViriney,

Providence, R.I.; Rev. Vincent Margiotta, Patchogue, L.I.; Rev. George C. Maxwell, Fall River, Mass.; Mary E. Meade, Ph.D., Stapleton, S.I., N.Y.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. S. O'Connor, Mason City, Iowa; Rev. Cyril S. Osborn, O.P., Somerset, Ohio; Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Ph.D., New York, N.Y.; Richard Pattee, M.A., Washington, D.C.; Rev. Robert D. Quirk, O.S.B., Manchester, N.H.; Rev. William F. Ryan, S.J., Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Catherine R. Selzer, Chicago, Ill.; Cyril E. Smith, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Rev. William S. Shea, Ph.D., Shelburne Falls, Mass.; Rev. Daniel S. Sheerin, Hingham, Mass.; Sister M. Bertrand, O.P., New Haven, Conn.; Sister M. Christina, S.U.S.C., M.A., Fall River, Mass.; Sister M. Edward, H.H.M., M.A., Cleveland, Ohio; Sister M. Genevieve, O.S.U., Toledo, Ohio; Sister M. Renata, C.S.C., New Haven, Conn.; Sister M. Teresa, C.S.C., Notre Dame College, Holy Cross, Ind.; and Brother Stanislaus Joel, F.S.C., Winona, Minn.

We herewith respectfully submit a list of deceased members, who died during the late part of 1937, and during 1938:

LIFE MEMBERS: Dr. Lawrence F. Flick, Philadelphia; His Eminence Patrick Carinal Hayes, D.D., Archbishop of New York; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward McGolrick, D.D., Brooklyn, N.Y., and Most Rev. T. C. O'Reilly, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, Penna.

ANNUAL MEMBERS: Rev. F. A. Christie, D.D., Lowell, Mass.; Rev. John J. Fay, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Edward Kelly, Toronto, Canada; Hon. James J. Kelly, Chicago, Illinois; Rt. Rev. Remi S. Keyzer, Rupert, Idaho; Rev. John F. Linskey, Detroit, Michigan; Mrs. William J. B. Macauley, Rome, Italy; Rev. T. Mahoney, Potsdam, N.Y.; Rev. Francis Stanton, Cleveland, Ohio; and Very Rev. Francis Augustine Walsh, O.S.B., Ph.D., Washington, D.C.

4. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS (REV. FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.).

The committee on nominations has the honor of presenting the following officers and councillors for the coming year:

OFFICERS

President, Carlos E. Castañeda, Ph.D., Latin American Librarian in the University of Texas.

First Vice-President, Herbert Henry Coulson, M.A. (Cantab.), associate professor of history, St. Louis University.

Second Vice-President, Rev. Edward P. McAdams, Washington, D.C.

Secretary, Monsignor Guilday.

Assistant Secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Code, Sc.Hist.D., Catholic University of America.

Archivist, Miss Josephine V. Lyon.

Treasurer, Rev. John K. Cartwright, D.D., Washington, D.C.

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COUNCILLORS

The Most Rev. Francis Clement Kelley, D.D., Bishop of Oklahoma-Tulsa.

Very Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Ph.D., president of the University of Notre Dame.

Very Rev. Peter M. Dunne, S.J., University of San Francisco.

Rev. James A. Magner, S.T.D., Chicago.

Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, LL.D., New York City.

The Secretary was then instructed to cast a unanimous vote for the election of these officers and councillors for 1939.

5. REPORT OF THE SECRETARY (MONSIGNOR GUILDAY).

So deep an interest in this nineteenth annual meeting of the ASSOCIATION has been shown by the Catholic educational institutions of Chicago and its vicinity that your Secretary would need to read a long list of seminaries, colleges, and universities with their representatives on the committees on local arrangements and registration to satisfy his sense of gratitude for all that has been done throughout the past year to make these sessions a success. To the genial and scholarly president of Loyola University, Dr. Wilson, I owe a profound debt of thanks for his guidance and for the enthusiasm he aroused over our programme. As chairman of the executive commission he directed with skill the great task of sending out some six thousand invitations to Catholics and non-Catholics to participate in this convention. In this respect it is also a pleasure to record at this moment the generosity of the patrons and patronesses from whom we received ample financial support for the necessary expenses of printing and mailing these invitations and programmes.

No doubt on other occasions the academic forces of the Catholic educational centres in and about Chicago have been brought together for united action; but I am told that this is the first time such a collaboration in the cause of Catholic history has occurred. If this be true, I am particularly gratified, because the germinal idea of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION found shape and form here in Chicago a quarter of a century ago. In the first issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (April, 1915), the following comment on a meeting held here during the previous Christmas week will be found:

> An interesting and instructive feature of the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Chicago, December 29-31, 1914, was the absence of Catholic historians. Out of the four hundred members of the Association present at the meetings, morning, afternoon and evening, two Catholic priests and several Dominican nuns alone were in attendance. In contrast with this lack of interest in a movement, the cultural value of which cannot be too highly estimated, was the number of subjects of distinctly Catholic importance. No doubt, the week after Christmas is not the best week in the year to hold a gathering, but a little sacrifice on the part of our higher educational institutions would have been instrumental in sending delegates

to attend the meeting. The Catholics who were present were taken somewhat by surprise on hearing one of the lecturers, in what was otherwise an excellent contribution to English medieval history, explain how the Church, owing to the dearth of priests for confession after the Black Death, gave a plenary indulgence for sin. It was an unfortunate slip. The Right Reverend Monsignor O'Brien, of the Michigan Historical Society, took up the question in the discussion which followed, and in an emphatic and clear manner explained to those present that the Catholic Church had never granted an indulgence for sin. The writer, who had the pleasure of meeting the lecturer afterwards, was given the privilege of seeing the paper itself, and the offending words *for sin* were not in the copy. It was clear that the phrase, which was twice used in the conference, was not the exact thought of the lecturer, but the whole incident was significant, to those who understood, of how carefully this whole matter of indulgences must needs be handled by non-Catholic historical writers, if they wish to escape the charge of falsification.

During the next four years the REVIEW had gained so many readers throughout the country that a decision was reached to establish an association for the purpose of creating a wider and deeper interest in the study of Catholic Church history in general and of the United States in particular. That the foundation speech on December 30, 1919, in Cleveland was made by the late John Franklin Jameson was the best guarantee that the new society would fill a much-needed place in American historiography. To the Catholic colleges and universities the leaders of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION looked for support in the work that lay ahead. That support has never failed us, and that is the reason why after nineteen years the members of the ASSOCIATION present here today rejoice that these sessions are being conducted under the patronage of all the Catholic educational institutions of this great archdiocese.

To Mr. John Bowman and to Mr. Otto Eitel of the Stevens Hotel, I owe a heartfelt word of thanks for their assistance in arranging for the various sessions of this annual meeting. Large and spacious as the Stevens is, it is not an easy matter to set aside rooms and parlors for fifteen separate historical groups. Our method of conducting our annual meetings requires one locale and for the almost exclusive use of this handsome Boulevard Room we are deeply indebted to the Hotel management.

May I add my own personal thanks to the nine speakers and to the two scholars who are leading our Luncheon Conferences for their great share in making this nineteenth annual meeting the success I am sure it will be.

It has been an exceptional pleasure to me during the past year to have had as our friendly directors such outstanding priests and laymen who made up our official family—Richard Reid, K.S.G., the 1938 Laetare medalist of Notre Dame, Simon Baldus, the dynamic member of the great Extension Society of Chicago, Rev. Dr. Harold Bolton, who is

responsible for the three years' work required to prepare the *General Index* of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. Father John Hugh O'Donnell, Vice-President of Notre Dame and one of the best-loved priests of his generation in that institution, Father Wilson, the President of Loyola University, and another scholar who rightfully ranks with the best apologetical writers of France and England, Dr. Ross J. S. Hoffman, who has been our President this year. To them all, especially to Dr. Hoffman, I express my gratitude. To the chairmen of the public sessions, Monsignor Shannon, Monsignor Kealy and to Rev. Dr. O'Connell of De Paul University, and to the chairmen of the Luncheon Conferences, Sister Eva of Rosary College and Rev. Dr. Cardinal of Loyola University, as well as to the Discussion Leaders, Dr. Kane and Mr. Coulson, let me express the gratitude of the Association.

These late December programmes, with their choice of speakers and the subjects to be treated, have behind them almost a year of thought and of preparation. At the final meeting of the officers and executives councillors this morning, as has been noted, it was decided to hold the 1939 meeting in Washington, D.C., concurrently with the historical societies and associations meeting here these three days. The topic around which the nine papers and two luncheon conferences next year will turn is *The Rôle of Catholic Culture in the South American Republics.* Those who will read papers have already been chosen, and we shall have the expert guidance of scholars familiar with Latin America, who have just been elected to their posts, in our official family, one of whom, the Very Rev. Dr. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., president of the University of Notre Dame, is now participating in the Conference at Lima. With the permission of the executive council I have appointed as vice-chairmen on the committee on programme for 1939 the Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Ph.D., assistant professor of Hispanic American history in the Catholic University of America, and Richard A. Pattee, M.A., of the Department of State, Washington, D.C. Another appointment made by the executive council is that of Rev. Victor Gellhaus, O.S.B., Ph.D., of St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas, as advisory editor of the REVIEW to succeed Very Rev. William Michael Ducey, O.S.B.

Growth in membership has not been satisfactory during the past year, and a determined effort, under the direction of Rev. Dr. Francis A. Mullin, Librarian of the Catholic University of America, will be made during the next twelve months to bring our membership up to at least one thousand. It has never been the policy of the ASSOCIATION to secure a large membership for the reason that its aim and purpose could be more carefully safe-guarded, as Dr. Jameson advised us in 1919, with a small but compact group of historical scholars and writers. However, we are now approaching our twentieth year; and, with what may be reasonably considered an ever-increasing success, the time is at hand to make the ASSOCIATION even more representative of every part of the nation. We shall naturally be guided by our present membership in the selection of those who would add scholarship to our ranks.

Our twentieth year of service to the cause of Catholic historical studies will coincide with the golden jubilee of the central educational institution

of the American Church—the Catholic University of America. To the University we must ever look for the training of history teachers and writers and to the members of the faculty who are devoting their lives to historical study must we look for constant inspiration and guidance. It was symptomatic of the times that John Joseph Keane, the first Rector of the University, when planning the original courses of the School of Theology in 1888, had no thought of Church history. Dr. Shahan, the first teacher in Church history in the School, was sent abroad by Bishop Keane to study canon law; and it was only after he had spent two years in Rome at that task that the Rector advised him to change to history. Fortunately for the future of historical studies in the University, Dr. Shahan then went to Berlin and had as preceptors such distinguished historians as Wattenbach, Loewenfeld, Schaeffer-Boichorst and Jastrow. Dr. Shahan began his courses in Church history and patrology in 1891, which he continued until his appointment Rector in 1909. The fruits of his scholarship during these years can be seen in his *Beginnings of Christianity* (1903), *The Middle Ages* (1903), *The House of God* (1905), his translation of Bardenhewer's *Patrology* (1908), and in the host of articles from his pen in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Assisting Dr. Shahan during part of this time (1890-1896) was the future Bishop Thomas O'Gorman who published in 1895 *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (vol. IX of the American Church History Series). In 1905, Rev. Patrick J. Healy, whose *Valerian Persecution* (1904) had brought him considerable attention, began his lectures in early Church history and succeeded Monsignor Shahan in 1910. Four years later, Dr. Peter Guilday was added to the department. The following year, with an editorial board composed of Bishop Shahan, Dr. Healy, the late Bishop Turner of Buffalo, the Most Rev. Paschal Robinson, D.D., now papal nuncio to Eire, the Very Rev. Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., D.D,, now provincial of the Marists, with Dr. Guilday as managing-editor, the University founded the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. For six years (1915-1921) the REVIEW devoted itself exclusively to American Catholic history, and then, upon becoming the official organ of the ASSOCIATION, to general Church history. In 1922, the late Rev. Dr. Patrick W. Browne was added to the department. In 1935, Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Code was appointed an assistant to Msgr. Guilday. The study of general Church history and of American Church history has not been confined to any one department of the University, and the staffs of the Schools of Sacred Sciences, Philosophy, and Canon Law, and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences have all contributed through their writings and the dissertations of their students a considerable amount of specialized work in this important field. It is quite understandable that American Catholic history should have a dominant interest for the graduate priest-students and for the nuns who are proceeding toward an academic degree. The series *Studies in American Church History* has now reached its twenty-eighth volume. Under the direction of Richard J. Purcell, Ph.D., head of the department of history, an equally large number of monographs on political nativism, a subject so closely allied to Catholicism in the United States, has appeared. Other courses, while ostensibly political and constitutional in their purpose,

augment the formal teaching of Church history in the University. These are: Assistant Professor Bruehl's modern history lectures, Dr. Steck's courses in colonial Latin American history, Sister Lauretana's courses in Polish history, Rev. Dr. Ziegler's lectures on mediaeval history and mediaeval Latin literature, Dr. Purcell's lectures on recent American history, Rev. Dr. Code's courses on the European background to American Catholic life, Dr. McGuire's lectures on Mediaeval Latin, and the modern history courses of Very Rev. Dr. Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., whose two volumes, *The Christian Era*, have been for years the best Catholic manual of general history we possess. Added to these are the lectures of Father Higgins on Byzantine history. There is, therefore, a noble chapter on the contribution made by the scholars of the Catholic University of America to historical science that might be written to add lustre to the jubilee celebration. But I have already gone beyond the allotted time for this annual report.

In bringing the year 1938 to a close we offer again publicly to Almighty God our profound thanks for the success which has attended our efforts to make better known the glorious past and present of His Divine Spouse, the Catholic Church, and we pray in all humility for the continuance of divine guidance during the coming year.

The Right Rev. Monsignor J. Gerald Kealy, D.D., former Rector of Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, presided over the sessions on Thursday morning, December 29. Father Mathias Braun, S.V.D., professor of missiology in the major seminary, St. Mary's Mission House, Techny, Illinois, read a paper on *Missionary Problems in the Thirteenth Century* based upon his translations of Schmidlin's *Katholische Missionstheorie* and *Missionsgeschichte*. This was followed by an unusual paper since it was based upon the rare Bellarmine originals at Mundelein, where he is professor of Church history and Christian archeology—*Saint Robert Bellarmine and His Family* by Rev. Dr. Harry C. Koenig. *The Rise of Secularism* which appears in this issue of the REVIEW by Rev. Raymond Corrigan, S.J., Ph.D. (Munich), of St. Louis University, proved of interest to his hearers on account of its timeliness. At the Luncheon Conference, the former president of St. Viator College, Bourbonnais, Illinois, Rev. Dr. Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., now on the faculty of Loyola University, Chicago, presented the principal speaker, Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap., who read for discussion a paper on *The Origin of the Invention of Printing*. The discussion was opened by Professor Herbert H. Coulson, M.A. (Cantab.), of St. Louis University. The General Session was held at 3:00 p.m., Thursday, at which the president of the ASSOCIATION, Dr. Hoffman, read his address on *Catholicism and Historismus* which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW. Following this address, the president for 1939, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, was inducted into office. Dr. Castañeda, though a young man, has been associate professor of Spanish in the College of William and Mary (1923-26), assistant professor of history in the Uni-

versity of Texas (summers, 1923-26), also at the University of Mexico, representative of the National University of Mexico at the Institute of Public Affairs, Latin American Librarian at the University of Texas, consulting editor, *Social Science Abstracts*, and historian for the Texas Knights of Columbus History Commission. Among his printed works are *Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution* (1928), *Early Texas Album* (1930), *Historia de todos los colegios de la Ciudad le Mexico: 1529-1780* (1929), *Morfi's History of Texas: 1673-79* (1936), *The Winning of Texas: 1684-1731*, and *The Finding of Texas: 1518-1694*.

The final session of the meeting, Friday morning, December 30, had as its chairman the president of De Paul University, Chicago, the Very Rev. Michael J. O'Connell, C.M., S.T.D. Again three papers were read. Mr. Paul R. Conroy of Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y., read the first on *The Rôle of the American Constitution in Brownson's Political Philosophy*. The second paper was by the late Father John J. Laux, M.A., of Covington, Ky., and was entitled *Two Decades of Catholic Historical Scholarship*, and the final paper of this nineteenth annual meeting was one on *The Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, by the Very Rev. John Hugh O'Donnell, C.S.C., Ph.D., vice-president of the University of Notre Dame.

One sad memory will always remain with the Chicago meeting—the passing of Father John J. Laux from the scene of his labors on January 10, 1939. He was born in Whalen, Germany, in 1878, educated in Duquesne University and at Holy Ghost Seminary at Cornwells, Penna., and was ordained to the priesthood in 1902. Father Laux taught Latin and Greek at Duquesne University (1903-1907), and at the Mission House, Knechtstaden, Germany (1907-1914). He was confessor to the Catholic English-speaking prisoners of war in Germany (1914-1918). After several years of teaching in Little Rock, Ark., and in Covington, Ky., he became pastor of the Church of the Guardian Angels in Covington in 1932. Among his published works are: *Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler and the Christian Social Reform Movement* (1912); *Life and Writings of St. Columban* (1914); *Der hl. Kolomban* (1919); *Der hl. Bonifatius* (1922); *Course in Religion for Catholic High Schools* (4 v., 1927); *Church History* (1930); *Introd. to the Bible* (1932) and *Church History in Cross Sections* (1935). Through the courtesy of the Most Rev. Francis W. Howard, D.D., Bishop of Covington, a search was made after Father Laux's death and his paper was found together with a host of notes he had gathered for its revision.

General pleasure both as to the topics treated in the papers and as to their length was expressed at the close of this nineteenth annual meeting. To the indefatigable Father Wilson and to all who aided him in completing so adequately the arrangements for these sessions there will ever be the satisfaction of knowing that Catholic Chicago has set high standards of excellence and of hospitality for the future assemblies of the Association.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Lives of the Saints Originally Compiled by the Rev. Alban Butler, Now Edited, Revised, and Copiously Supplemented. By HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. Twelve Volumes. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, (1925-1938.)

At long length this learnedly planned and admirably achieved revision of the famous work of Alban Butler has reached completion. The first volume of the series of twelve was published in 1925. The last volume appeared in the closing days of 1938. In physical appearance, the stately volumes bound in red cloth with gold lettering are most attractive. But "all the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Ps. xliv. 14)—a rare combination of exacting scholarship and unaffected piety designed to meet the needs of all classes of Catholic readers.

The task thus undertaken was obviously no small one. The Preface to Volume I declared that the work "is not intended for scholars, though it is hoped that even scholars may sometimes find it useful. Its main object is to provide a short, but readable and trustworthy, account of the principal saints who are either venerated liturgically in the Western Church, or whose names for one reason or another are generally familiar to Catholics of English speech." The last-quoted sentence is more restrictive in its outlook than an ordinary reader would be apt to surmise, since the ordinarily brief treatments accorded to very many of the saints would suggest, in the twelve volumes averaging 400 large pages to each volume, a comprehensively long list of saints. We therefore read with interest and enlightenment some comments furnished by the Preface to Volume XII: "This multiplication of beatifications and canonisations, which has gone on since the seventeenth century and which has been a particularly notable feature of the present pontificate, would alone suffice to make it clear that there can be no finality about the list of saints in any compilation such as the present. In every year that passes some cause which has been previously introduced reaches its term, and it often happens that several new names are added to the Church's roll of honour in the course of the same twelve months." It would therefore be impossible to print a record more than temporarily complete "even so far as regards the unquestionably authentic saints and beati of modern creation". Father Thurston expresses a fear that some of the omissions may be due to "negligence or failure of memory"; but he added that "many omissions . . . have been intentional, though critics who seek completeness in such a record may regard the exclusion of any reputed saints as unwarranted. I can only urge that

completeness of any sort is a simple impossiblity. No authority save that of the Holy See can pronounce upon the claims of the thousands of alleged martyrs or ascetics whose names are heaped together in local martyrologies, synaxaries, episcopal or relic lists, and similar documents, and the Holy See very wisely has taken the course of remaining silent, unless on certain occasions when it has been specially applied to . . . ." Later he notes that: "Even in the sixty-six folio volumes of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur,* there is no assumption of exhaustiveness. . . ." He continues (at too great length for quotation here) to develop the reasonableness of this restrictive course. Meanwhile (p. viii), he points out that "some more notable omissions in previous volumes have here been supplied in a Supplement (pp. 311 *sq.*)."

This revision of Alban Butler's work is as thorough as it is fundamental. Alban Butler labored mightily, indeed, but his sources were comparatively few and in some instances unreliable. His miscellaneous and abundant notes conveyed multifarious information which nowadays is to be found in our Catholic volumes of reference in handier and more reliable form. And therefore: "The only practical course seemed to be to omit the notes, replacing them at the end of each biography by a few references to standard authorities, and adding, where the matter seemed to call for it, a brief discussion of the historical problems involved." Butler's literary style was unnecessarily diffuse and of mistaken elegance—and our modern style of simple and direct statement replaces, in the present revision, his turgid and time-consuming phraseology. Finally, Father Thurston pays a deserved tribute to Alban Butler's main purpose when he undertook his fairly herculean task: "One feature very characteristic of the original work it has seemed desirable to retain unaltered except for some slight compression and the occasional modernising of the phraseology. Butler's main purpose in writing was undoubtedly the spiritual profit of his readers, and from the beginning of January to the end of December it is his practice to conclude the first biography of the group belonging to each day with a short exhortation. These exhortations, together with the devotional comments which he provides for such festivals as the Circumcision, the Epiphany, etc., have been scrupulously respected so far, at least, as regards the substance of what is said."

It would be a work of pretentious supererogation for the present reviewer to attempt any praise of the comprehensive and withal minutely detailed learning of Father Thurston, manifested in the innumerable bibliographical footnotes in these twelve large volumes, as well as in many other fields of exacting scholarship. But it is a pleasant task for this reviewer to quote the tribute paid (in the antepenultimate paragraph of Volume XII) to his two collaborators in this great work: "thanks in large measure to the diligence and competent knowledge of my two collaborators, Mr. Donald

Attwater and Miss Norah Leeson—the collection now happily completed seems to me to correspond pretty accurately with the scheme outlined in the preface to the first volume." Praise from Sir Hubert is praise indeed.

HUGH T. HENRY

Catholic University of America

The Church and the Nineteenth Century. By RAYMOND CORRIGAN, S.J., Ph.D., Director of the Department of History, St. Louis University. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xviii, 326. $3.50.)

The title of Dr. Corrigan's book is exactly descriptive. He has not composed a history of the Church during the nineteenth century, but written topically on various relations between the life of the Church and of the social world of Europe and the United States in the hundred years following the French Revolution. Reading these pages, therefore, we have not constantly before our eyes that one holy and universal thing, seen as a whole, and ceaselessly at war upon a hundred fronts with all the world; rather is attention centered upon the episodic antagonisms between the Church and the apostate tendencies of western society.

Dr. Corrigan begins by describing the general character of the century which he discerns to be the growth of bourgeois culture, capitalism, liberalism, nationalism and secularism. Next he presents, within this changing social world and in reaction against it, the popes, the saints, the Catholic thinkers and missions of the century considered as a whole. This antithesis shown, he goes on to present, in near chronological order, short historical accounts of the Napoleonic episode, the Catholic revival accompanying and continuing after it (with special reference to Ireland and England), the nationalist clash with the Church in Italy, the challenge of the *Syllabus* and the Vatican Council, the battle with Bismarck and his Prussians, the quarrel with the Third French Republic, and Leo XIII's handling of late nineteenth-century issues and problems. The last part of the book is an analysis and exposition, in admirable summation, of the great Leonine encyclicals.

The chief value of Dr. Corrigan's book derives, I think, from its great pedagogical utility. Precisely this kind of work has been needed urgently on the reading shelf for college courses in the nineteenth century. It contains a fund of information accurate and astonishingly large for a book of such modest proportions; and there is a most instructive glossary of modern "isms", together with a brief but well-selected bibliography. Moreover, all is presented so clearly and readably that college students should be able to absorb and digest the whole thing easily.

Doubtless the achievement of this end was Dr. Corrigan's sole intention and hope, for he has made no effort to deal with deep historico-philosophical questions that touch the life of the Church and of the world in

modern times. He does not, for example, probe for the historical justice of the Napoleonic phase and the various revolutionary moods and upheavals that come periodically upon societies of Catholic character and tradition. Nor does he attempt a rigorous criticism of clerical strategy in the apostolic work of the last century. This abstention, taken with the limited territorial scene which the book touches and the fact that within the period the Church received so many political defeats in a great part of that scene, inevitably causes the book to show the Church as somewhat less militant and less successful in its apostolate to all the world than it actually was in the bourgeois and secularist nineteenth century.

Ross J. S. Hoffman

Fordham University

Katholische Kirche und Kultur in der Barockzeit. By Gustav Schnürer. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1937. Pp. xvi, 804. RM. 12.00.)

In reviewing the life of Michelangelo Dr. Schnürer penetrates to the spirit of the baroque of which that genius may be called the father. Born in 1475, Michelangelo lived to see the best the Renaissance could produce in art and literature. He himself did much to glorify the achievements of the age. Few of the masters could have excelled his *Bacchus* or *David* and many a poet of the period would have been proud to own some of his *canzoni* and sonnets. But the classical antique did not satisfy Michelangelo. In his youth he had listened to the ardent Dominican, Savonarola, and had seen misfortune after misfortune overtake his native land and city. The French and Aragonese had made Italy a battleground and the Italians, torn by the strife begotten of their unbridled individualism, were unable to save themselves. Factions made life in Florence unliveable. Even popes had forgotten their high mission to revel in—and suffer from—the spirit of the glorious antique. But to Michelangelo there was an emptiness to it. The serene beauty of its works could well end spiritually in a Laocoon. Little wonder, then, that in Alexander VI's own time Michelangelo could conceive a *Pietà*, harmonizing the Catholic faith of the Middle Ages with the traditional beauty of the antique. And the Church was to continue to flourish through the devotion and energy of the Jesuits. Their mission, too, did not escape the discernment of the great artist: building a church for them in Rome, *il Gesù*, lay next to his heart.

Again, therefore, Rome was the center from which Europe, delirious from an overdose of the pagan antique, was to recover a measure of sanity in the course of time. Some years ago Dr. Schnürer told how a new Rome rose up on the ruins of the old. Now that new Rome, in turn grown old, was to be renewed again. Both works, the *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* and this, are magnificent historical syntheses of the religious and cultural mission of the Church. It would seem as if the author were

unduly limiting himself by confining his second study to the countries in which the baroque, the spirit of Catholicism, succeeded in maintaining itself. In reality, however, he is only keeping to the problems presented by the earlier *opus,* thus enabling the reader to compare the work of the Church in the two periods. Often, too, he exceeds the bounds he set himself, for the baroque spread beyond the geographical limits of the Catholic countries, just as the spirit of which it was an outward sign would not be confined. In dealing with the time element Dr. Schnürer also does not limit himself to the period in which the baroque flourished. After reaching its height about 1633 that culture declined, but Dr. Schnürer goes on through 1715 to introduce at least a new age, with new problems; and in his account of the missions he carries the story even further, deep into the eighteenth century.

And do Dr. Schnürer's limits really limit? In the period, 1500-1715, Spain and France, Catholic states, successively dominated the European scene and consequently affected nearly every part of the continent and world. After noticing the leaders of the regeneration of the Church, Dr. Schnürer has a chapter on the beginnings of the baroque culture in Italy and three chapters on Portugal and Spain through the reign of Charles II. From a study of the missions in the newly discovered lands overseas he proceeds to a survey of the efforts to recover for the Church Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Poland. There are chapters on the humanists of France and the Huguenot wars, on the Netherlands, and on the struggle of the crown for religious supremacy in England.

Although these topics are treated in great detail, only a careless reader will lose sight of the main current of the story. As if to make sure that the significance of what he has narrated is clearly understood, Dr. Schnürer takes a *Rückblick* (pp. 493-499) over the first part of the book—the Spanish hegemony. With the fine objectivity which characterized his work on the mediaeval Church, he notes that the popes relied too often upon Spain and her might and that they were too much imbued with the Gregorian idea of a *potestas directa* to fare well even with sovereigns like Philip II. Although the humanistic disciplines quite naturally and justifiably informed the training of clerics and the upper classes, it was unfortunate that more attention was not given to the natural sciences which were then rapidly coming to the fore. Dr. Schnürer also laments the fact that clerics and laymen of rank in their patronage of culture forgot the charity which constitutes their best claim to eminence in any age. Social conditions were sad, but it is hard to see how even a zealously charitable clergy and nobility could have offset entirely the effects of the "price revolution" caused by the importation of immense quantities of gold and silver from America. Dr. Schnürer stresses also the stifling effects of the absolutisms of the period and their *schrankenlose Machtpolitik.*

But the author is not a pessimist. He also notes that gains were made in the age of Spanish dominance. The Church had won new vitality and, with the pagan spirit of the Renaissance to some extent repressed, could enter upon the second period of the baroque mission with fewer misgivings than it had the first. Dr. Schnürer begins the second part of his work with an *Übersicht* of the French hegemony. There is a chapter on the revival of Catholic life in France following the reconciliation of Henry IV with the Church under Clement VIII. He proceeds then to the missions of the French, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the progress of the natural sciences and the splendors of the reign of Louis XIV. Shadows begin to appear in the chapters on the beginnings of rationalism and the *Aushöhlung* of the baroque culture, but these shadows are relieved by an account of the lovely afterglow of the culture in Catholic Germany.

History knows no ending and, consequently, Dr. Schnürer should not forsake us on the threshold of the period of "scientific enlightenment" which now darkens our way.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN

Pennsylvania State College

The Church through the Centuries. By CYRIL CHARLES RICHARDSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 255. $2.50.)

Trying to account for the various ideas attached to the word, church, throughout the Christian era is the task set by the author of the foregoing book. By means of examples drawn from life and worship, he endeavors to make the burden less heavy.

Dealing with the meaning of the church, chapters are dedicated to: Today; the Early Centuries; St. Augustine; the Middle Ages; the Roots of the Protestant Reformation; the Protestant Reformation; and the Modern Period.

The *leit motif* of the book is the wishful thought that the church is a society independent of external organization, the members of which are unknown except to God. Tracing the history of the invisible is bound to produce a rather fugitive vision. Repudiation of visible organization, tradition and the sacramental system, should locate the record of most non-Catholic churches in some inaccessible limbo. Indeed the author makes a brave gesture to exhibit the non-essential visibility demanded by conditions. If his historical findings show both visible and invisible elements, he is quite unable to produce the third element of authority, except for Rome and Constantinople.

The book is a contribution to understanding the mentality, imagination and religious sentiment of those who carry on the Pelagian or Manichean systems. This is true particularly in the chapter which treats the Modern Period. The chapters on the Early Centuries and Middle Ages are not so deficient in what he says as in what he stresses or omits. This criticism holds particularly for the story of the episcopate, the Roman primacy and

the councils. For the Middle Ages the narrative about papal imperialism, the inquisition and monasticism, besides laboring under the foregoing strictures, is entirely inadequate. This is due partly to the kind of sources used.

No attempt may be made to list the inadequacies of this book. Notice is called to the overemphasis, mostly by innuendo, of the borrowing from the Roman Empire by the Church its unity, universality, position, rise and primacy. What is offered as a cause may have been an imponderable advantage only. What some writers call papal imperialism really is an ever present idea of Catholicity combined with the idea and workings of an apostolate.

The author is most unhappy when he confuses a principle with some debatable applications of it. For example, in reporting Boniface VIII, he overlooks the principle in the Pope's declaration of spiritual freedom as against secular invasion, and without a qualification, insists that the Church absorbed the State. Harnack, whose pet idea about the papacy deriving its power or pretensions to power from the Roman Empire is on parade in the book, writes in reference to the Church's action regarding state encroachments: "In the West the Roman Church maintained the idea of independence of religion and the Church against the tendency of the State to dominate in the spiritual domain. . . . This serves as a motive for gratitude which we entertain regarding the Roman Church."

While the author may be trying to unveil the minds of others, he has not avoided their errors in all cases. What a mistake it is to put Peter the Venerable in the rôle of a typical monastic mind by retailing a fantastic tale, which the author guarantees is not the worst that could be found. If the author can produce any reliable mediaevalist who classifies Peter as a typical monk whose imagination fed on miracles, on unedifying and weird visions and revelations, all the product of the unnatural life of a monastery, Peter will have to be studied anew.

To evaluate the book for some it will be necessary only to remark that in reference to the Mass, the author uses *actio* interchangeably with drama; that he does not hesitate to follow Llorente as a safe guide to the Spanish Inquisition; that he prescribes the old bromide about the Jesuits justifying means by the end; and that he associates individualism and democracy with such dyed-in-the-wool Manicheans as Luther and Calvin.

Like Gibbon, the author or his sources mistake effects for causes. To account for the Church, Gibbon lists its organization, politics, domestic virtues, miracles and what not, and by doing so, misses the cause of them all, Jesus Christ the Son of God, Who is incorporated in the visible Church.

The book is equipped with a reading list which does not include a single Catholic historian, and it omits non-Catholic writers, like Lightfoot and Sohm, who might throw light on some essential facts. It has an index.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary

33989

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640-1660. By W. K. JORDAN, PH.D. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 560. $5.00.)

This is the third volume in a series. It presents but a partial view of the period indicated. Seventeenth century England was a golden age for religious controversy, and pamphleteering was rife. So large and rich has been the documentation for his study that Dr. Jordan decided to divide his work. In this volume he limits himself to theories on toleration of Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist origin. In a fourth and final volume he hopes to present an analysis of Anglican, extremist and lay thought on religious liberty.

The book in hand is devoted in its first half to a chronological survey of the debate and disposition of parliament in the matter of what toleration was to be extended to those not conforming to Puritan faith and practice. The period of Presbyterian dominance (1640-1648) was characterized by their tendency to repress as heresy any criticism of their premises (p. 50), and to make their own the established religion of England (p. 80). "It was clearly the intention of Parliament to destroy Catholicism in England" (p. 32). From first to last, by reviving the penal laws in all their refinements, by rigorously excluding Catholics, and Quakers as well, from what semblances of toleration they grudgingly made, by the exacting of the "awful" Oath of Abjuration, which no true Catholic could possibly take (p. 186), Calvinism proved itself intensely intolerant in spirit and in deed. Dr. Jordan sums up his treatment of Presbyterian policy thus: "Such contribution as it made to the development of religious toleration was indirect and negative" (p. 314).

Independency arose as a coalition of Congregationalists, Baptists, and other sects long forgotten, against the extremes of Puritanism. Their chief accomplishments were the setting up of a selective sort of toleration good for the maintenance of their bloc, and some slackening in the enforcement of laws against recusancy. "The Government seemed more interested in the Romanists as a potential source of revenue, than in their spiritual demerits" (p. 184). Anglicans suspected of Laudian sympathies were "naturally subjected to a strict and constant surveillance". The Quakers were strictly excluded from the benefits of any bill of toleration. As head of the coalition, Congregationalism had much to do with the moulding of policies and tended to copy the standards set up by the Puritans. At least as they became inured to evils of persecution they were tempted to think of tolerance from an entirely subjective point of view. The Baptists, under lay leadership, "demanded religious freedom as a positive right". "Perhaps no other religious group made so important a contribution to the development of the theory of religious toleration" (p. 458).

Quite obviously the figure of Oliver Cromwell looms large in these pages. He is credited with "seeking to school England in the lessons of religious liberty". "No modern ruler has ever accomplished so much for the cause of religious liberty in the face of such gigantic difficulties" (p. 170). So broad a statement might be questioned. Cromwell was a dictator. He had the faults of dictators. He was also a politician knowing full well how to use the divisions of parties to his own advantage. And while it is true his actions in England were not as extreme as was his career in Ireland, none the less more than half the populace suffered restraints of some sort under his rule. He had no love for the Quakers (p. 239). He carried out widespread ejections of Anglican clergy suspected of tending towards the right. "Anglicanism was an insoluble irritant in the body of the Cromwellian state" (p. 194). When we recall that he recommended to parliament the revival of the Oath of Abjuration (p. 185), and that his hand-picked parliament passed a bill "savagely reactionary in character" (p. 188) "unquestionably ruining a considerable number of influential Catholics" we wonder if giving him such generous praise does not raise the question of whether the present-day historian may not be unkind to the present-day dictators. Certainly there is not in the conduct of Cromwell enough to warrant such phrases as "consistent leniency towards the Romanists", remarkable, "amazing tolerance", unless it be found in the sentence: "It is indeed remarkable that the political and religious passions aroused by the Civil War did not result in a holocaust of Catholic persecution" (p. 179).

The second part of this book is given to a close examination of ideas on the matter of toleration as expressed in the copious publications of the Revolutionary period. The list of writers is long and the detailed analysis of their thought too close for the reviewer to estimate part by part. Dr. Jordan has given us another well-ordered and extremely valuable work. His major and minor exponents of the idea of toleration are grouped according to their affiliation to the groups already mentioned. John Goodwin (1594-1665) as representing Independency launched his arguments "rather against the evils of intolerance than in defense of a positive theory of toleration" (p. 411). As a group the Independents were compelled "almost against their will to urge a toleration" (p. 352). Of Roger Williams (1604?-1683), it is remarked that "he drew heavily from the earlier Baptist theorists" (p. 473), and that "a proper understanding of English history and English thought in this period would make it impossible to regard him as the first apostle of religious toleration in England" (p. 475n). But Williams's title is more in his deeds than in his words. He was no mere weaver of phrases nor dreamy theorist whose actions belied his words. "In Williams's theory there were no reservations, no saving clauses of vague content, to vitiate the force of his arguments" (p. 498).

There is in the style of Dr. Jordan an occasional use of a word or a phrase that reflects his closeness to the language and the heated controversies of the seventeenth century. Words such as "popish", "popery", "Romanist", are steeped in bitterness. P. 202 mentions the "corrosive influence of Anglo-Catholicism". P. 32 accentuates the word "hideous" in the phrase "Hideous excesses of the Irish rebels, exaggerated by faulty communications and rumour to monstrous proportions". Then there is the word "seised", p. 513, line 23, and another archaism of which the author is uncertain on p. 470, line 32 and which can be controlled in *King Lear*, Act 2, Scene 2, line 72. On p. 501, the word "dumbly" (line 16) should perhaps read "numbly". Otherwise the metaphor would be mixed. These small points are mentioned as media to improve the excellent character of this work.

JAMES L. CONNOLLY

The St. Paul Seminary

The Theory of Religious Liberty in England: 1603-1639. By T. LYON, B.A. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1937. Pp. ix, 242. $2.25.)

The Introduction to this book marks a division of tolerationists into two sorts. "There are those whose lives are conditioned by a passionate conviction that they are in possession of known and ascertained truth" (p. 2). Such may be tolerant from a conviction corollary to their creed stressing the law of charity, or because persecution impressed them with the need of tolerance. "The second sort of tolerationists are those in whose life no great light shines, but who light the darkness of the way by their own reason and intelligence . . . The problem of where truth lies is, for these thinkers, no easy one to answer, and therefore their belief in toleration is something more than a mere negative dislike of persecution" (p. 4).

According to the testimony that the writer introduces no one group of the various sects then existent in English religious life conformed to either one of these classes, and the work becomes consequently an examination of individualistic theories, each having the flavor of one or other group, yet distinct in one way or other. It is then with isolated ideas, "in many cases forgotten as soon as they were born", and not having "any appreciable effect upon immediate practice" (p. 225), that Mr. Lyon deals. Of these considerable attention, perhaps too much, is given to theories expressed by the Baptist leaders, lately from Holland with their small flocks, and making pleas for tolerance in which "the idea of religious liberty is first to be found" (p. 71). Thomas Helwys who formed the first Baptist congregation in England, and John Murton, his successor, were the sponsors for the theory of toleration which "made little impression on English people" (p. 141). The Puritans and the Congregationalists,

stronger numerically had a better basis for building theories on toleration. But the former expended their energies in resisting anything and everything that leaned towards Rome, and the latter sought in the Erastian ideal means of saving themselves from "prelacy and popery". No doubt these attitudes were affected, just as the Catholic position was, by the fact of their having to defend themselves against the pretensions of an established church. The traditions of the Elizabethan reign were in the nature of constraining consciences, whether we justify them by political, economic or religious needs, assumed or attributed. James I continued these policies to the point that non-conformist groups visualized toleration chiefly in terms of their own need.

Archbishop Laud while "extremely tolerant in matters of doctrine" (p. 64) "did execute repressive laws and persecute so that God might be worshipped in the way which seemed to him most desirable" (p. 69). He had, however, two friends, one a god-son, whose intellectual approach to the problems of religion, safeguarded against "blind emotional faith" and who believed "in the necessity of freedom in all except the few fundamentals which they conceived to be necessary for salvation" (p. 145). These men, John Hales of Eton (1584-1656), and William Chillingworth (1602-1644) attempted to salvage the oft-ignored Protestant thesis of private judgement and urged toleration as a necessary condition for intellectual activity. "The birth of the idea of toleration in the governing body of the Anglican Church cannot but be considered of greater significance for the practical achievement of toleration than the works of obscure and persecuted Separatists" says Mr. Lyon (p. 180). Yet it must be recalled that Hales did not publish his writings, at least the important ones until beyond the period indicated as the bounds of this study, and on one occasion, at least, we find Chillingworth permitting the punishment of all "seditious persons, such as draw men to disobedience either against Church or State" (p. 177). Such a concession might readily become the foundation for argument against the whole theory of religious liberty based on the inviolable right of conscience. But concession such as this might have been due more to the Rev. Mr. Chillingworth's respect for Archbishop Laud and his censors.

Mr. Lyon's study is a prize essay. It is well-ordered and sensitive. Theories on toleration were not yet topics of heated debate in Commons. They were found brewing in the minds of individuals such as the few mentioned here, and others such as George Calvert, whose contributions to the idea of religious liberty were not treated in this study, but whose convictions found substantial expression in his Maryland foundation. One such manifestation of a broad spirit of toleration is worth more than theorizing whose influence was "negligible on the immediate future" (p. 180).

JAMES L. CONNOLLY

The St. Paul Seminary

From Many Centuries. By FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J., Professor of History in Marquette University. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1938. Pp. xiii, 327. $1.00.)

The many friends and admirers of this well known Catholic historian welcome the reprinting in one volume of nineteen selected historical articles and essays of the author, which previously had appeared in various places but principally in this *Review* and the *Historical Bulletin*. In the first part of the book (15 articles) Father Betten treats of a variety of subjects "against a wider background and in more detail than may be found in ordinary textbooks." Fittingly he begins with a paper read at the first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1920, where he indicates the methods which a Catholic historian should follow in searching for and in presenting the glorious history of the Church. The versatile pen of the author is evident then in the imposing array of interesting subjects which follow: the nations represented at the first preaching of the Gospel; the exclusive character of the Catacombs as burial places of the early Christians; Ptolemy, the father of geography; the Decree of Milan; the repentance of a medieval sinner illustrated in the death scene of the Emperor Otto IV; the Kensington Stone, a supposed Viking relic in Minnesota; the *Codex Aureus* of St. Emmeran; the invention and the diffusion of the art of printing; a comparison of the Tudor Queens demonstrates that Mary is much less deserving of the obnoxious title erroneously given to her than her sister Elizabeth. An article on Pope Clement VIII is based on Ludwig Pastor's treatment of the same subject. The study of Cardinal Bellarmine and Galileo arrives at the conclusion that "had the Cardinal's warnings been heeded there would be no Galileo affair." A fine appreciation of the late historian Father Hartmann Grisar, S.J., and a precious 65 page summary of the life and works of St. Peter Canisius completes the first portion of the series. The keen interest of the author in the seventh and eighth centuries is manifested in the second part: St. Bede the Venerable (25 pp.) is reprinted from *Church Historians*; the Island Celts and the Roman Easter Calculation and the Meeting at Whitby are interestingly treated. Finally in what may well be considered a useful example of historical investigation based on original sources, Father Betten vindicates the scientific and theological equipment of St. Boniface. He shows that the great missionary and reformer was well aware of the sphericity of the earth and of the requirements for valid baptism. The inaccuracy about the saint's knowledge is unfortunately hard to eradicate for it is to be found even in standard Catholic works. Twelve pages of documentary proof and a well constructed index conclude the volume which is excellently printed and attractively bound. A subsidy of some kind must explain the disproportion between the value of the book and the price asked by the publishers. We heartily recommend it to students, teachers and the general public.

Father Betten deserves well of Catholic education in America. Trained in the exacting schools of his native Germany, he has devoted more than half of his seventy-five years to the teaching of the historical sciences in Jesuit colleges and universities in Buffalo, St. Louis, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Omaha. Continuing the noble traditions of Father Guggenberger, S.J., he placed in the hands of Catholic students and teachers all over the country sound reliable textbooks such as *The Ancient World*, the *Modern World* (in cooperation with Father Alfred Kaufmann, S.J.) *Ancient and Medieval History*, which richly merit the wide circulation they still enjoy. *Historical Terms and Facts*, the *Roman Index of Forbidden Books*, *An Historical Bibliography* are his, besides a great number of articles in various reviews and newspapers. The *Historical Bulletin* owes its origin to him and he was one of the founders of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1919. Monsignor Guilday in his very appreciative Preface says that "for the past 19 years no one has had a larger share in the progress of the Association than the venerable professor of history in Marquette University." We would apply to Father Betten what he himself writes of Father Grisar, "that he is among the foremost Catholic scholars who champion a fearless application of genuinely historical methods in the exploration of the Christian past . . . a method which has worked far more in favor of the Church than against her. His objective has been to simply represent things as they appear when seen through the medium of honest and unbiased historical research." This spirit, the love of the truth and the love of the Church he has instilled into the thousands who have been influenced by his work. We are glad to have this *Festschrift* of the beloved professor and we hope that he will continue to wield his pen in the good cause for many years to come.

MICHAEL J. HYNES

Our Lady of the Lake Seminary

Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565-1603). An account of their service during that period, of the reaction of their activities on Scottish affairs, and of the effect of their presence in Ireland, together with an examination of the gallóglaigh or galloglas. By GERARD A. HAYES-MCCOY. With an introduction by Professor Eoin MacNeill. (Dublin and London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1937. Pp. xxi, 391. 15s.)

An opinion shows itself occasionally among historical students that Irish history has been a thing peculiarly *sui generis*, that what happens in other countries does not happen in Ireland, and that what happens in Ireland has not followed any line of historical development which can be plotted from the events of general European history. Undoubtedly this opinion has a considerable basis of fact. Ireland has had a large measure of cultural tradition quite distinct from that of Latinised and feudalised Europe. But

the abnormality may be over-emphasized. Ireland was in the European stream, even though floating an eccentric course. We know of the development of mercenary troops in the warfare of western Europe in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the present book of Dr. Hayes-McCoy we learn that the employment of mercenary troops—coming from western Scotland and the Scottish isles—developed in these same centuries as a dominating factor of Irish military economy. We know of the extent to which treachery and intrigue were the hand-maidens of sixteenth-century diplomacy. Here we see these hand-maidens operating in Ulster and Gaelic Scotland as vigorously and as viciously as if the setting were France or Italy.

In its main theme this book is a study of one aspect of the Elizabethan war of conquest in Ireland, the first genuine English conquest of Ireland. That aspect is the use by what may be called the Irish nationalist leaders of mercenaries from Gaelic (really Norse-Gaelic) Scotland, and all the ramifications in Irish, Scottish and English politics of that fact. Being a careful and extensive study it is, therefore, an important contribution both to the story of the conquest of Ireland and to the general story of international relations within the British Isles.

Equally interesting, however, is a preliminary chapter in which a study is made of the *gallóglaigh* — whom the English called "galloglass" — mercenaries from western Scotland introduced into Ireland in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who remained in permanent and hereditary military service, were for the most part settled on well defined estates, and for the first time since the early days of Christianity provided the Irish states with something approaching a standing army. In a brief introduction worthy of careful reading Professor Eoin MacNeill has his "I told you so". The study bears out his contention that the Irish have not been a peculiarly "warlike" people.

Dr. Hayes-McCoy describes modestly his whole work as "but a scraping of the ground", and undoubtedly more will be heard on the important subject of the *gallóglaigh*, but we have here a valuable introduction.

All students of Irish history in the later middle ages will find much that is useful in the addenda: genealogies of the MacSweeney, MacDonald and O'Neil families; the texts of various original documents; list of technical terms; and bibliography. On the term *tuath* reference might have been made to James Hogan, "The Tricha Cét and related Land-Measures", *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xxxviii, sect. 1, no. 7 (Dublin: 1929). The failure to mention Dr. Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603* (Oxford, 1933) may be noted.

The present reviewer is not qualified to tread the mazes of sixteenth-century politics and intrigue, where the author walks with an assurance that lends confidence. He will only make a few random observations. It is disappointing to find the work, as a study of Irish history, so dependent

on the records of the foreigner. Neglect of the Irish material has vitiated much of research in the mediaeval and early modern history of Ireland, but when Dr. Hayes-McCoy does not use it to a greater extent the conclusion seems certain that such material does not exist or is not available. Interesting are the statements, slight though they be, as to the economic well-being and strength of the Irish states where not exposed to the constant ravages of war, and to Hugh O'Neil's success in applying these reserves to military ends. The story of the Elizabethan wars would seem to make the fact obvious, but when Mrs. Green proclaimed it some decades since she was treated almost as the voice of a child crying in the night. Interesting also is the evidence that, extensive as had been the movements of Scottish troops into Ireland in earlier days, when the struggle reached its crisis in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign intrigue and fate had so arranged that the Irish received but little help from their kinsmen across the Moyle. It is doubtful whether many Irish historians will agree with the author's opinion that the gallant James Fitzmaurice had a broader vision than had Hugh of Tyrone (p. 127).

Something has gone wrong with a sentence on page 21, where it seems to be said that the Barons of Scotland who in 1283 promised to receive the Maid of Norway, granddaughter of Alexander III, as their Queen, were also to receive her as that king's wife.

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Public Archives of Canada

Saint Dominique: L'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Par PIERRE MANDONNET, O.P. Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire, O.P., et R. Ladner, O.P. Deux Volumes. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. 1937. Pp. 322, 280. 60 fr.)

It is not easy to convey in a short review a just sense either of the contents or of the character of a work like this. There is not one of the six hundred pages that make up these two volumes but will impress even the maturest mediaevalist either with the weight of erudition or brilliance of suggestion or both. Penetration, intuition, judgment, synthesis mark especially the pages from the pen of P. Mandonnet; definite, dated, detailed information, critically sifted and authenticated, abounds in all the contributions of P. Vicaire and P. Ladner. The whole is a rare combination of both the arithmetic and the algebra of history, of facts and formulae, of minute documentation and wide perspectives. And if one is reminded here and there of the dangerous and delightful counsel which the master once gave to a student: "Allons, mon ami, quittez un peu le sol, faites du trapèze", one can never forget in reading these pages that "l'intelligence du P. Mandonnet était éminement synthétique; sa pensée historique était à la fois totale, organique et équilibrée".

The first volume contains the short but remarkable study of St. Dominic's life and work which P. Mandonnet published in 1921, when he was at the very peak of his intellectual vigor. The succinct and masterful synthesis relating the origins of religious Orders to the notions and needs of the society in which they emerge is a masterpiece; and this is followed by an incomparable picture of the saint, of his mind, his method, his achievement. If on particular points in St. Dominic's biography more recent research has been able to complete or correct the picture, as for example in regards to the chronology for the years 1205 to 1208, this newer knowledge will be found in the critical notes and additional studies by P. Vicaire.

Volume II is entitled " Perspectives ", and attempts to relate the picture of the Dominican Order to the longer perspectives of medieval life. There is a valuable and well documented sketch of the general conditions of preaching before the Order of Preachers assumed its great mission in the Church. This critical study of P. Ladner does justice both to the superficial optimism of Bourgain's conclusion in 1879 that " pendant tout le moyen âge la chaire ne fut jamais plus grande qu' au xiie siècle " as also to the excessive pessimism of some contemporaries like Petrus Cantor with his complaints about the *pessima taciturnitas* of the bishops of the time. In connection with Dominican preachers there is a discussion by P. Mandonnet of the symbolism of the dogs of the Lord, the *domini canes* as they appear, for example, in Andrea di Bonaiuto's painting in the cappella degli Spagnuoli in Florence. P. Mandonnet makes quite clear that there was no implied play on the word " *Dominicanus* " for the simple reason that, at the time, the word Dominican in its modern sense did not exist. It is in this note, too, that P. Mandonnet links the famous *Veltro* of Dante with the Dominican Pope Benedict XI. A more important study of P. Mandonnet is that written originally in 1913 and dealing with the crisis in education in the early thirteenth century.

A detailed discussion of the historical relation between the original *Rule of St. Augustine* (of 388) and the Rule of St. Dominic, left uncompleted by P. Mandonnet at the time of his death is here completed by P. Vicaire. There are a few admirable pages at the end written over forty years ago by P. Mandonnet and dealing with " les tendances du monde spirituel au xiiie siècle ".

All in all one is inclined to agree with P. Vicaire: " Il arrivait au P. Mandonnet d'abuser des intuitions et de construire parfois à faux; mais nous ne savons tout ce qu'il savait ".

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The editors and advisory editors of the REVIEW tender their felicitations to the Most Reverend Chancellor of the Catholic University of America, Archbishop Michael Joseph Curley of Baltimore, on the occasion of his Silver Episcopal Jubilee, June 30, 1939. It is interesting to record that His Excellency's Jubilee coincides with the sequicentennial year of the establishment of the See of Baltimore (November 6, 1789).

With the January, 1939, issue of the REVIEW, Dr. Leo Francis Stock, for the past ten years a co-Editor of the same, relinquished his post in order to devote his time to the preparation of the fifth volume of his *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America*, which is being published by Carnegie Institution of Washington. During the decade of service Dr. Stock has given to the REVIEW, he has had charge of the department of NOTES AND COMMENTS, made up in large measure from his own wide historiographical knowledge.

At the quarterly meeting of the Board of Editors of the REVIEW on February 27 last, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, Ph.D., instructor in history at the Catholic University of America, was elected to the editorial board of the REVIEW. Dr. Ellis' special field of interest is Modern European History.

The general subject chosen for the twentieth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, to be held in Washington, D.C., December 28-30, 1939, is The Rôle of Catholic Culture in the South American Republics. It is hoped that the essays will be published as volume four of the Association's *Papers*.

The Rev. John J. Laux, pastor of Holy Guardian Angels Church, Sanfordtown, Kentucky, and noted as a popular writer of textbooks on Church history and of biographical works, died at the age of 61, on January 10, 1938. Among his published works are: *Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler and the Christian Social Reform Movement* (1912), *St. Columban* (1914), *St. Boniface* (1922), *A Popular Manual of Church History* (1930), and *Church History in Cross Sections* (1935). At the recent Chicago meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Father Laux read a paper on "Two Decades of Catholic Historical Scholarship," which will be printed in a later issue of the REVIEW.

One of the most historic moments in the progress of the Catholic Church in the United States occurred on February 11, 1939, when the Right

Reverend Rector of the Catholic University of America launched a nation-wide Crusade for God in Government.

The annual *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at American Universities* (December, 1938), issued by the Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution of Washington (1939), shows 1039 hopeful Ph.D. candidates. The work of compilation and editing has been carefully done by Mrs. Margaret W. Harrison. The titles of dissertations are arranged serially according to country; those which could not be assigned to any specific country are grouped under the headings "General" and "Religious". Frequent cross-references are given, and there are indexes of authors and universities. This annual list should serve useful purposes: students working on related topics are given the opportunity of mutual assistance, subjects under investigation often suggest others, the trend of historiography is seen in these off-shoots of the professors' interests, and the lists make possible the avoidance of duplicate efforts on the part of students. Unfortunately, this last purpose is not always served, as some of the subjects show similarity of title and content. An analysis of the topics listed discloses a growing interest in the fields of historiography, biography, and social history; 18 titles are given under the general heading "Religious", 35 under "United States: Religious". The Catholic institutions represented are: Boston College with 7 dissertations, the Catholic University of America with 24, Fordham University with 12, Georgetown with 2, and St. Louis University with 11.

With the opening of the Annex to the Library of Congress, facilities for readers and research students have been almost doubled. The Union Catalog of books in American libraries now contains over 10,000,000 cards for important holdings of over 700 American libraries. Depository sets of cards are in 74 libraries, including 17 in foreign countries. The complete catalogue of the Library of Congress has recently been installed in a special catalogue room in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

Due to the generosity of the Carnegie Foundation and recently under the direction of Dr. William M. Bishop of the Clemens Library at Ann Arbor, the catalogue of the Vatican manuscripts has reached its sixteenth volume. The rules followed (largely influenced by Doctor Bishop), are now given to the public in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Norme per l'indice alfabetico dei manoscritti* (Vatican City, Vatican Library, 1938, pp. vii-206).

The REVIEW welcomes the news that an enterprise is under way in Italy to found a National Association of Ecclesiastical History. Monsignor Paolo Guerrini shows the need of such an organization and the progress that is being made toward its realization in volume IX (1938) of *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia.*

Monsignor Guilday has been appointed by the President to the Advisory Committee of The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., which has been founded to assist President Roosevelt in carrying into effect the President's proposal to house all his public papers, correspondence, pamphlets, books, and special collections at Hyde Park in a separate fire-proof building to be erected on his family estate.

In his annual report, given to the public late in January, Dr. James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard, points out that from 1900 to 1936 the number of students enrolled in secondary schools in the United States has increased from 630,000 to 6,300,000. While approving certain modifications of the curriculum that have come as a result, "to include every kind and level of ability . . . with the widest possible range of ambitions," he expresses a deep concern for "those courses of study which provide a solid basis for future university work." In particular, he finds that "both the training of teachers and the study of educational problems at the school level have become too much divorced from the university atmosphere in almost all parts of the country," and sees the necessity for a modification of the spirit and objectives of the university schools of education that will give them more than a formal allegiance "to the community of scholars which constitutes a university."

In *The Saturday Review of Literature* for February 4, 1939, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University raises several interesting problems in his article, "What's the matter with History?" The American historians, whom he divides into three schools: the pedants, the literary, and the popularizers, especially the first class, have given us "another thin and disappointing year" in the matter of production. It is upon the second group—the literary and scholarly median historians, that we must depend for a revitalization of interest in reading history on the part of the American people. What is needed to offset the sterility of the pedantic school, Dr. Nevins says, is above all an organ "for those who believe in history as literature." Accordingly, early in the Spring an appeal was issued for the formation of a Society of American Historians which would have as its aims: 1. to bring together those interested in the presentation of authentic history in attractive literary form; 2. to create a mutual interest in the activities of such writers; and 3. to begin immediately a monthly magazine, popular in the best sense, for the stimulation of good historical writing with the view of carrying a knowledge of history to a larger reading public.

The February number of the *Nouvelle revue théologique* is given over to articles on racism, and there are three articles on that subject in the March number of *Thought*.

The *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (Band LIX, Heft 1) contains a study on the "Eucharistic Tradition in the Perlesvaus", by Dr. William J. Roach, instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures at the Catholic University of America. Dr. Roach sets this famous Grail romance into its background of Eucharistic miracle-stories. The article reveals a masterly control of sources and literature on the part of its author. It is as interesting as it is scholarly.

Geography in the Middle Ages is a recent volume by George H. T. Kemble, lecturer in geography in the University of Reading, England (London, Methuen, 1938, pp. 272).

Edmund T. Silk in an article, "Boethius's Consolatio Philosophiae as a Sequel to Augustine's Dialogues and Soliloquia" (*Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1939), reaches the conclusion that very probably Boethius, when in the days of his distress he wrote his great work, recalled the works of St. Augustine and was inspired by them.

The dissertation of Father R. J. Kinnavey on *The Vocabulary of St. Hilary of Poitiers* receives high praise from Dom Reynders (*Recherches de Théologie*, January, 1939) as being a valuable aid to theologians as well as a contribution to philology.

Donald Attwater has compiled a *Dictionary of Saints* as a companion work to twelve volumes recently completed under the direction of Father Thurston—*Butler's Lives of the Saints* (Burns, Oates and Washbourne), reviewed by Monsignor Hugh T. Henry of the Catholic University of America in this issue of the REVIEW. Mr. Attwater's *Dictionary* contains the essential facts and dates of each canonized or beatified person in the *Lives*.

Longmans announces the publication of *Eastern Branches of the Catholic Church*, a series of six studies on the Oriental rites by Father Francis McGarrigle, S.J., the Most Reverend Mar Ivanios, Cardinal Tisserant, the Rev. Joseph M. O'Hara, Father John La Farge, S.J., and the Reverend Ildefonse Dirks, O.S.B.

The older members of the Louvain University Alumni Association (American College) in this country who attended the stirring conferences of the Jesuit, Father Petit, during their Seminary days in the old Belgian city, will be happy to learn that his biography has recently been published by Lethielleux (Paris)—*La simple histoire du Bon Père Petit, S.J.*, the work of M. Henri Davignon.

Cardinal Henri Marie Alfred Baudrillart, the eminent Catholic historian and present rector of the Institut Catholique of Paris, recently celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday.

Canon A. Villien, one of the founders of the *Dictionnaire de droit canonique,* has retired from his position as dean of Canon Law at the Institut Catholique.

The REVIEW regrets the death of Père Adhémar d'Alès, S.J., renowned author and editor of the *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi chrétienne,* and that of Joseph Bédier of the French Academy, admirable authority on the literary history of the middle ages.

Professor J. Dedieu of the Institut Catholique of Paris has written an excellent guide to Pascal's thought in *Pascal, les Pensées et oeuvres choisies. Introduction, notes et commentaires* (Paris, Librairie l'Ecole, 1937, pp. 398).

Recent publications in church history include: Albert Dufourcq, *Le Christianisme antique: Des origines à la féodalité* (Hachette's collection: *Histoire des Religions*); Henri Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (E. de Boccard: *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*); L. Bréhier et R. Aigrain, *Gregoire le Grand, les Etats barbares, et la conquête arabe: 590-757* (Bloud et Gay: *Histoire de l'Eglise* de Fliche et Martin, vol. 5); Victor Martin, *Les origines du gallicanisme* (Bloud et Gay); Chanoine Boulenger, *La Réforme protestante* (Vitte: *Histoire générale de l'Eglise,* tome 3, vol. 7, 1re partie); H. D. Noble, *Un centenaire: 1839-1939: Lacordaire ressuscite en France l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique* (P. Lethielleux); George Rigault, *Les disciples de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de la Salle dans la société du xviiie siècle, 1719-1789* (Plon: *Histoire générale de l'institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes,* vol. 2).

The flow of French works in the field of hagiography continues unabated. Since the last issue of the REVIEW numerous titles in this class have appeared, among them *Frère Fiacre de Sainte-Marguerite, prieur des rois* (1609-1684) by José Dupuis (Presses Modernes); *Mère Raphael de Jésus, Fondatrice des Carmels d'Oullins, Saint-Chamond, Roanne* by Mgr. Lavalles (Vitte); *La Vénérable Jeanne Delanoue, Soeur Jeanne de la Croix (1666-1736). Fondatrice des Soeurs de Sainte Anne de la Providence à Saumur* by F. Trochu (Vitte); *Saint Willebrord* by Gabriel H. Verbist (Desclée de Brouwer); and *Saint-Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus* by P. Veuillot (Bloud et Gay).

Dom L. H. Cottineau has compiled for students a new and most valuable repertory that promises to be complete and definitive in its field. The subject matter of this two-volume work with its 26000 notices is fully explained in the somewhat elaborate title under which Protat Frères (Mâçon) have published it: *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des Abbayes*

et Prieurés de l'ordre de Saint Benoît, des chanoines réguliers et chanoinesses de Saint-Augustin, Basiliens, Chartreux et Clarisses. The price is 900 francs.

Of the articles in Vol. XXVIII of the *Revue Mabillon* the following may be noted: "L'Itinerarium Egeriae" by Dom. A. Lambert, "Les Gesta Sanctorum Patrum Fontanellensis coenobii" by Dom J. Laporte, and "Compte rendu par ordre de Sa Sainteté de l'état des Maisons de la Réforme de la Trappe établies en France 1828". The last, a report of Abbot Antoine de Beauregard of Mellary to the Holy See, is particularly interesting since at the time the twelve Trappist monasteries were, with the exception of one Cistercian house, the only monasteries for men in France.

In a recent address Cardinal Verdier of Paris declared: "The Church and the great democracies are the defenders of civilization today. By the light of events France must recognize that her most essential interests, her eternal mission, force her to form, with the Church, a new axis to defend the spiritual values which are dear to her, and which constitute her real patrimony . . . The Church, the great democracies, France and her Empire, are today the defenders of the Christian order in the world."

In spite of the Vatican's protests that Italy's racial laws with respect to marriage conflict with article XXXIV of the Concordat, instructions of the Ministry of the Interior repeat that "marriages between persons belonging to different races will have no civil recognition even if performed by a Catholic priest, because the law's article VI prohibits them, and if they take place, they should be annulled." Application to the Minister of the Interior and his consent are required, before publishing of the banns, for marriage between an Italian and a foreigner. Foreigners are understood to be all persons of foreign origin, whether Aryan or not, even though they have assumed Italian citizenship. Italians who were born in ethnically Italian territories but have taken up citizenship outside the Italian kingdom are not regarded as foreigners by the law.

In reply to Hitler's public declarations that the Church is not being persecuted in Germany, the *Osservatore Romano* lists a long line of factual grievances which leave no mistake about the matter. Describing the Nazi campaign for apostacy as "the extreme point of persecution," the writer points out that the technique aims at "creating in those who resist, the anguished feeling that they are anachronisms, foreign bodies, derelicts in the structure of the new life."

In Austria, the secularization of Church properties is being achieved rapidly. Religious schools are being transformed into army centers, and the monasteries are undergoing the same process as under Henry VIII in England.

One of the real losses to Catholic historical scholarship is Father Z. García Villada, S.J., who was killed during the revolution in Madrid.

A bibliography of the works of the famous Spanish historian, Menéndez y Pelayo, has recently been issued by his intimate friend and disciple, Miguel Artigas — *La España de Menéndez y Pelayo. Antologia de sus obras* (Saragossa, 1938, pp. 366).

In one of the many interesting notes on historical activities in Spain which Dom M. Alamo contributes to the January number of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* he tells us that the rich archives of the old cathedral of Roda and of the cathedral of Lerida were saved from the anarchists by the archivist Ballesteros Gaïbros.

The former Austrian Historical Institute in Rome has been merged into the German (formerly Prussian) Historical Institute.

Professor Heinrich Finke of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau died on January 30 at the age of 83. The leading Catholic historian in Germany, he was a prolific writer on many aspects of mediaeval history, editor of several historical periodicals, and since 1924 president of the Görres-Gesellschaft. He had received honors from the Holy See as well as from various academies and universities in Germany and Spain.

For a time after the German revolution of 1933, the discontinuance of the work on the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* was rumored in German university circles, although the work was continued under provisional direction. This uncertainty was dispelled last year by the appointment of Dr. Edmund E. Stengel, formerly professor at Marburg, as the permanent director of the new "Reichsinstitut fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichte" (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*). His report for the year 1937 is published in the second number of the semi-annual *Deutsches Archiv fuer Geschichte des Mittelalters* for 1938. The report presents a detailed account of the work in progress in the various departments (scriptores, leges, diplomata, epistolae, poetae) together with a list of the publications of the Reichsinstitut for 1937-8 and of its collaborators.

Two of the articles in the above-mentioned review deal with phases of mediaeval church and state relationships: "Krone und Kirche in Norwegen im 12. Jahrhundert" by Walther Holtzmann, is a study based on the discovery of new materials, i.e. the coronation oath of 1164, canons of a Norwegian synod of 1164, and a series of papal decretals, all of which are published with the article; Carl Erdmann discusses the refusal of Henry I in 919 to follow the Carolingian precedent of episcopal coronation and unction. Ulrich Gmelin's essay on the "Entstehung der Idee des Papstums" is a favorable commentary on Johannes Haller's, *Das Papstum, Idee und*

Wirklichkeit (Stuttgart, Vol. I, 2nd ed., 1936, pp. xiv, 511 and Vol. II, 1937, pp. 485). He agrees with Haller and H. Koch before him, that the Roman Church has been the "greatest and most successful forger of history of all times" (*DA*, p. 513), but refuses to accept entirely Haller's main thesis, that the papacy was the result of the Germanic need for central authority. Gmelin is of the opinion that the roots of the growth of papal power lie in the decrees of the Roman emperors. These and other privileges, as well as the Roman idea of "princeps", were, according to him, the loose stones used by Leo the Great in the erection of the edifice of papal domination.

The new *Kalendarium Benedictinum. Die Heiligen und Seligen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, by Dom Alfons Zimmermann (3 volumes, Metten, 1933-1937) was sponsored by the Bavarian Benedictine Congregation. The work contains over 2400 notices of Black Monks, Cistercians, Camaldolese, Vallumbrosians, Silvestrians, Celestines, and monks of Montevergine. The author is, however, careful to classify those whose membership in the "Familia Benedictina" is doubtful or those whose cult cannot be verified, in spite of their inclusion in former martyrologies, under the rubric of "Praetermissos". The short biographies for each day of the year are accompanied by a good but selective bibliography of the sources and secondary works. The work is introduced by studies on the history of Benedictine martyrologies (Vol. I, pp. iii-xxxiv) and on the spread of the Rule of St. Benedict from the sixth to the tenth centuries (Vol. I, pp. xxiv-lxxxii). Volume I also contains a calendar of the saints and persons treated. Users will find the lack of an alphabetical index quite exasperating.

Authorities in early Benedictine history have in recent years been unanimous in rejecting the traditional year, 543 as the date of St. Benedict's death. It probably took place shortly after 546. This is the opinion of such scholars as Salvatorelli, Schmitz, and Zimmermann, although Chapman insists that the event took place between 553-555. The recent studies of Cardinal Schuster, *Appunti sulla storia di S. Benedetto*, (1937), Dom Hieronymus Frank, "Die Frage nach dem Todesjahr des hl. Benedikt, and Dom Hilarius Emonds, "Gregors des Grossen Dial. II, 15 und das Todesjahr des hl. Benedikt" (*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, vol. 56, 1938) conclude with the opinion that the earliest possible date for the Patriarch's death is March 21, 547.

Friends and former pupils have dedicated to Abbot Ildefons Herwegen of Maria Laach a collection of patristic, liturgical, monastic, and ascetical studies under the title *Heilige Ueberlieferung* (Muenster, 1938, pp. 284) on the occasion of his 25th abbatial anniversary. Church historians will

find new material in the essays of Dom Hieronymus Frank, "Ambrosius und die Buesseraussoehnung in Mailand. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mailaendischen Gruendonnerstagliturgie", Theodor Klauser, "Die Liturgie der Heiligssprechung", and Dom Stephanus Hilpisch "Chorgebet und Froemmigkeit im Spaetmittelalter." The work is published as a supplementary volume to the *Beitraege zur Geschichte des alten Moenchtums und des Benediktinerordens.*

Students of monastic history will welcome the index to volumes 1-50 (1880-1932) of the *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige.* It was compiled by Dom Ludwig Glueckert and appears as part of volume 56 (1938). The same volume carries a study of Dom Suso Brechter, "Monte Cassinos erste Zerstoerung. Kritischer Versuch einer zeitlichen Fixierung." Besides being a contribution to the early history of Monte Cassino, the article presents a thorough analysis of the sources of the factors of Italian history from the sixth to the eight centuries.

The splendid work of Dom Gall Herr, *Johannes Mabillon und die Schweizer Benediktiner. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historischen Quellenforschung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,* (St. Gallen, 1938, pp. xv, 468) is more than a literary history of the Swiss Benedictine Abbeys during the baroque period. It is in reality a complete history of the Benedictine houses in Switzerland based on a thorough study of the contemporary sources.

Dom Sturmius Drexel in his *Reichsstift und Reichsstadt* (*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige.* Ergaenzungsheft 14, Munich 1938, pp. ix, 91) studies the jurisdictional controversies between the imperial Abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra of Augsburg and the imperial City of Augsburg in the 17th and 18th centuries. The story itself is but a chronicle of petty bickerings between the contending parties. It, however, fits into the larger picture of the losing fight of all ecclesiastical territories within the old Empire to maintain their traditional position in the face of the rising tide of centralization and secularization.

Ludwig Biehl calls his work, *Das liturgische Gebet fuer Kaiser und Reich* (Paderborn, 1937, pp. 173), and attempts to present the liturgical prayers for the emperor and the empire in their historical development. It is more than that. It is an important contribution to the history of the "Reichsidee" and the relationship of church and state.

The cult of a popular saint has rarely received such thorough treatment as that of St. Christopher in Hans-Friederich Rosenfeld's, *Der hl. Christophorus. Seine Verehrung und seine Legende,* (Acta Academiae Aboensis,

X, 3, Leipzig, 1937, pp. xx, 522). The study of the development of the cult is based on the solid foundation of the iconography of the saint rather than on the, often arbitrary, method of analogy. The modern renaissance of the cult of the saint would make an interesting supplement to the work.

M. Héyret's, *P. Markus von Aviano, O.M.Cap., Sein Briefwechsel nach dem Hauptinhalt und den geschichtlichen Zusammenhaengen*: Vol. I, *Hohe kirchliche Wuerdentraeger, Priester und Ordensleute*, (Munich, 1937, pp. xiii, 365); Vol. II, *Der roemisch-deutsche Kaiser Leopold I und P. Markus 1680-1699*, (Munich, 1938, pp. xxxiv, 471), is a sequel to her biography of P. Markus which appeared in 1931. The correspondence of the amazing Friar, the agent of pope and emperor, the preacher and papal legate in the last great defense of the West against Islam in 1683, opens a rich source for the history of church and state between 1650 and 1700. The author plans to publish three more volumes to complete the series.

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (t. LVI, fasc. III. et IV, December, 1938) contains a documented article by Father C. A. Newdigate, S.J.,—*Quelques notes sur les catalogues des martyrs anglais dits de Chalcédoine et de Paris* (pp. 308-333). The Chalcedon Catalogue, now preserved in the Westminster Cathedral Archives, receives its name from its author, Bishop Richard Smith, Vicar Apostolic of England and Bishop of Chalcedon, *i. p. i.* The Paris Catalogue, also in the Westminster Archives, belonged to the English College in Paris.

In the July issue of the *Downside Review* (Vol. LVI, 1938), Watkin Williams discusses the letter of Peter the Venerable in which he defended the Cluniac mode of life and interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict against the attacks of the Cistercians. The October issue of the same *Review* contains an interesting article on " Monastic Officials in the Middle Ages " by Dom Alban Léotaud. The bulk of the material is drawn from the Rolls of the Obedientiaries of Worcester Cathedral Priory. The same writer analyzes the Journal of Prior William More of Worcester (1518-1536) in the October number (1938) of the *Dublin Review*.

The first volume of *Recusant Poets* by Louise Imogen Guiney has just been issued by Sheed and Ward. A beautiful example of the printer's art, issued from the press of Basil Newdigate (Shakespeare Head Press, Oxford), himself a foremost scholar of the recusant poets, the book is a veritable anthology of Catholic faith, history and literature during the period 1535-1735. The second volume is to appear later.

Catalogue No. 50 of Goldschmidt's *Sources of English Literature before 1640* (pp. 120) contains 369 items.

Although not a work based upon fresh source material, Michael Trappes-Lomax has published an attractive life of Bishop Challoner (1691-1781), based to a large extent on the classic biography by Canon Burton (Longmans, Green and Company, pp. x-285). After the death of Bishop Petre (1758), Bishop Challoner as Vicar Apostolic of the London District was the juridic head of the Church in the English American colonies until his death in 1781. Canon Burton in his *Life of Challoner* (II, 118) makes a rather interesting reflexion: "It is indeed a strange and curious fact to remark, but it is none the less true, that, during the rest of Bishop Challoner's life, his jurisdiction over his American priests and people remained the only remnant of authority in the hands of an Englishman that was still recognized in America. King and Parliament and Ministry had lost their power, but this feeble old man living his retired life in an obscure London street, still continued to issue his faculties and dispensations for the benefit of his Catholic children in Maryland and Pennsylvania."

Professor Arthur W. Conway, F.R.S., D.Sc., of Dublin, has been elected a member of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences in succession to the late Lord Rutherford.

On October 2, 1938, in the presence of Dr. Douglas Hyde, president of Ireland (Eire), there was unveiled a monument in Donegal in memory of the four Franciscans who compiled the famous *Annals of the Four Masters*, the history of which has been delightfully told by Father Brendan Jennings in his *Michael O'Cleirigh*, reviewed in the January issue of this journal.

Father W. A. Hinnebusch, recently of Dominican College at the Catholic University of America, contributes "The Pre-Reformation Sites of the Oxford Blackfriars" to the periodical of the Oxford Architecture and Historical Society, *Oxoniensia* (III, 1938, 57-82). It is full of precise information gleaned with painstaking care from the sources. It will form part of the doctoral dissertation which Father Hinnebusch is rapidly completing on the history of the Dominicans at Oxford. His work has been done under the direction of Professor F. M. Powicke.

The recent death of Father Joseph Keating, S.J., for more than twenty-five years editor of the *Month*, marks a very great loss to Catholic letters. His broad knowledge and unerring taste made him the perfect editor.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for January (Vol. 43, No. 1, p. 43) pays a well merited tribute to Monsignor Joseph H. McMahon who died on January 6, 1939. He had been elected a Trustee of the Library on December 14, 1938, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Root.

Dr. Jean Delanglez, S.J., of the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago, contributes to the January (1939) issue of *Mid-America* a definitive appraisal of the veracity of Father Louis Hennepin—"Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico: 1680" (pp. 32-81).

In the last volume of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Vol. X, Terziaren-Zytomierz, Herder, Freiburg im B., 1938), Father Francis S. Betten, S.J., of Marquette University, contributes an illuminating article on the Church in the United States (col. 547-554) and Msgr. Guilday contributes an article on the Catholic University of America and on Georgetown University (col. 758).

The index and lists of the pamphlets and periodicals collected by Rutherford Richard Hayes, nineteenth President of the United States, and published by the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society (Columbus, Ohio), contains several documents of value for the history of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.

Under Periodical Literature we have called attention to an article in the February *Month* (London) by M. Benziger entitled "The Race Problem in America." It is a frontal attack upon the lethargy American Catholics have shown and are showing in the Negro problem. With the exception of Father John LaFarge, S.J., Rev. Dr. Paul Furfey of the Catholic University, Father Ford, chaplain of the Catholic students at Columbia University, Father F. Mulvoy, C.SS.Sp., Father John Gillard, S.S.J., Father Thomas Price and a few other priests, Mr. Benziger practically condemns the whole Catholic clergy for its lack of genuine interest in the cause of the Negro. There are many statements in the article which should be better authenticated before being accepted; for example, "a Negro girl-graduate in Washington [D.C.], a daily communicant, was requested by her parist priest not to attend Mass last Easter Sunday, lest her presence should give offence to the White congregation." Perhaps, it is such statements as this which inspired the editor of the *Month* to preface the article with an eighteen-line explanation for printing the same, sheltering himself, as he says, "under their authority [the priests mentioned above] in printing a plea which is but a reflection of their writings and a corroboration of their experience."

The National Catholic Welfare Council Publications Office, Washington, D.C., offers a *Map of U. S. Dioceses and Archdioceses* for sale at $5.00 per single copy and $4.00 per copy on orders of two or more. The printing was executed by Rand McNally and Company. The 32″ x 48″ map is printed in three colors on heavy paper. Its usefulness for chanceries, seminaries, etc., is obvious.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association will hold its annual spring meeting in Memphis, Tenn., April 20-22. The Southern Historical Association will also meet in Memphis on the same dates.

The Historical Records Survey, a W.P.A. project, is at present employing nine thousand (mostly amateur) helpers in its gigantic task of inventorying the archives of state governments, counties, cities, churches, and other institutions. Inventories for over 200 counties have already been mimeographed in volumes ranging from 100 to 500 pages. In all, 3066 counties will be covered, it is hoped. The inventories will be deposited in eighty selected libraries. The government grant for unemployment relief has been very generous. Thus it is possible to check and re-check the findings of less skilled workers. The very limited funds available for materials would not, however, meet the cost of printing. Hence, it was necessary to resort to the mimeograph. The inventories of church archives will, according to present plans, total about 100,000 pages. This work will be very helpful to the local historian. It should also considerably lighten the task of the scholar who undertakes a synthesis of the Church's history in America.

Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton was sent to the Lima conference by the University of California in the capacity of observer. Professor Bolton continued his travels as good will delegate to the leading South American Universities.

The University of Texas is planning an Institute of Latin-American Studies. Texas has the advantage of proximity to Spanish America; the history of the state is interwoven with that of Mexico; the University Library is well equipped for research in this field. During the summer of 1940 leading scholars will be invited to lecture on topics of interest to Spanish American students.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy has published his eighteenth *Rapport de l'Archiviste*. This volume, containing the researches of his collaborators during the scholastic year, 1937-1938, though it offers nothing startling, is still a valuable addition to the inventories and documents already published. A brief "Relation du siège de Québec, 1759" supplements the more valuable "Journal du siège de Québec," which was contributed to the first volume of the *Rapports* by the same scholar, M. Aegidius Fauteux. M. l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron continues his inventory of the writings of Bishop Signay for the years 1835-1836. The most readable section of the *Rapport* is that devoted to the letters of l'abbé de L'Isle Dieu, which are here concluded.

The first volume of the *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (1636-1716), a neatly-written manuscript in 250 pages, has been photographed in a very

limited number of copies for distribution. It gives the early history of the first hospital founded in northern America and affords general information on the history of the region. Information in regard to the price of a copy can be obtained from the Reverend Arthur Maheux, Archiviste, Université Laval, Quebec, Canada.

The Institut d'études médiévales which is attached to the schools of philosophy and theology at the University of Ottawa has published seven volumes of studies since 1932.

Father Damien Van den Eynde, O.F.M., gives an analysis of the Franciscan manuscripts recently acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, R. I. (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January-April, 1939, pp. 219-222). They pertain to the affairs of the Franciscan Province of Santo Evangelio, Mexico. Father Van den Eynde spent a year in the Library cataloguing the contents of these manuscript volumes. He writes: "These documents are important for the history of the Santo Evangelio province, the mother of all Franciscan provinces in Latin America, but also for the general history of the Church in Mexico, and for the missions of New Mexico, as these depended upon the province of Santo Evangelio. The collection is concerned only with the postulants who entered the novitiate house of La Puebla, not with all the members of the province. There were two other novitiate houses in Mexico City, namely, San Francisco and S. Cosme y Damian. Furthermore, many members joined this province after their novitiate and profession in one of the Spanish provinces. Nevertheless, interesting biographical details, especially such as cover their lineage, birthplace and age, may be found in these *Informaciones* of a great many of the members of the Santo Evangelio province, which counted in its membership many authors, missionaries, and other eminent friars. Among the writers, for instance, may be cited such names as Francisco de Avila, Isidro Alfonso Castaneira, Antonio de Harizon, Francisco Ignacio Leal, Diego de Leiba, Alfonso Mariano del Rio, Miguel Romero, Francisco de Soria, Agustin de Vetancurt."

Among the published works issued by the Instituto de estudios americanistas, created in 1930 by the National University of Cordoba (Argentine), is the *Introducción a la historia eclesiástica del Tucuman* (Cordoba, 1938, pp. 70), by the director of the Institute, Dr. E. Martinez Paz.

In spite of President Cardenas' warning against premature campaigning for the national election of 1940, three major candidates for the Mexican presidency have already thrown themselves into the field—Camacho, Tapia, and Mujica. It is not improbable that, regardless of the outcome, present tolerance of the Church will continue; but a radical solution of the question, involving amendments to the constitution, seems as far off as ever.

According to a recent interview of Bishop Paul Yu-Pin, reported to the *Catholic Herald* (London), the Communists of China "are not the strict Communists of the Russian type. The name given to them is a loose one. They are not really 'red.' They respect private property at least in the sense that they do not want to abolish it, and nowadays they are not hostile to the Catholic missionaries or to the Church. I know that people abroad say that the Government of China is ridden with Communism, and that Catholics refuse to support such a Government, but these Catholics are not the Catholics of China."

Documents. Volume six of the *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana* contains some four hundred documents for the years 1581-1585, edited by Dr. Edward Kuntze, dealing principally with the correspondence of the Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti: *Alberto Bolognetti nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta* (Cracow, 1938, pp. xxxiv-850).—In numbers 1 and 2 of the *Museon* L. Th. Lafort has given further details on the Coptic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Louvain.—Correspondenti di S. Carlo Borromeo (1550-1559), Adolfo Rivolta (*Aevum*, October-December).—Orazione del Cardinale Bessarione nella prima seduta del concilio (Ferrara, Oct. 8, 1438), Giuseppe Cammelli (*Rinascita*, October).—*Regesten van oorkonden betreffende de bisschoppen van Utrecht uit de jaren 1301-1340*, J. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel (The Hague).—*Incipits* of commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, F. Stegmüller (*Römische Quartalschrift*, XLV, 85-360; 2530 incipits).—Two Unpublished Documents of Hernán Cortés and New Spain 1519 and 1524, R. S. Chamberlain (*The Hispanic Am. Hist. Review*, November).

Anniversaries. An anniversary of nation-wide interest—the sesquicentennial of the founding of Georgetown University, the oldest Catholic college in the United States—will be celebrated during the week of May 28-June 3.—This is the golden-jubilee year of the Archdiocese of St. Paul (*Catholic Bulletin*, December 24).—The silver jubilee of the Diocese of Belleville, Illinois, will be celebrated by the Most Rev. Henry Althoff, D.D., its second bishop, on April 25-26.—A well-illustrated *Centenary and Silver Jubilee Souvenir Book for Spokane and the Inland Empire* has been published by the *Inland Catholic*. The Most Reverend Charles D. White, bishop of Spokane, contributes the introduction.—The Little Sisters of the Poor all over the world will celebrate the centennial of their foundation at La Tour, France, in July. Their houses now number over three hundred in all parts of the world, with nearly 60,000 inmates. Since their foundation, the Little Sisters have cared for more than 525,000 old people, irrespective of creed.

BRIEF NOTICES

ATTWATER, DONALD. *The Golden Book of Eastern Saints.* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xx, 166. $2.25.) This fascinating book is a valuable complement to the author's two books on the Eastern Churches. Beginning with Saint Basil, he gives some twenty or more brief biographies of martyrs and other holy individuals who have graced the Eastern part of the Church from the earliest days of Christianity to the present time. Some are fairly well known, but others make their first appearance to English readers in popular form. Behind all stands the Church making possible holiness and sainthood to all its children both of East and West.

There are a number of interesting illustrations but unfortunately no index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

BOAK, A. E. R., HYMA, ALBERT, and SLOSSON, PRESTON. *The Growth of European Civilization.* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1938. $4.50. Two volumes in one: Volume I, *From Ancient Times to the Reformation,* Pp. 488; Volume II, *From the Reformation to the Present,* Pp. 570. Index to both vols., Pp. 571-613.) The preface states: "This book is an outgrowth of the lectures which have been given in the introductory course in General European Civilization at the University of Michigan for a number of years." After a short but well-rounded sketch of the development of civilization in the Near East and the Mediterranean World, 4000 B.C.–400 A.D. (pp. 1-132), we have a more detailed treatment of the political and cultural history of Europe from the end of antiquity to our own times. The emphasis is on the cultural side. This book, which is written by highly competent scholars and teachers and was actually used in mimeographed form in the classroom for two years and then thoroughly revised before being printed, may be recommended as one of the best works of its kind that have come to my attention. It is not, of course, a Catholic textbook, but the authors have made a laudable effort to deal sympathetically and accurately with matters pertaining to the Church, and the works of Catholic scholars are fairly well represented in the *Suggested Readings* at the end of chapters. The book has an unusually good equipment of maps and illustrations, and a good index. It is hoped that a new edition will be furnished with adequate chronological tables. The bare lists of rulers and the chronological chart following Part I in Volume I are not enough. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

BROWNE-OLF, LILLIAN. *Pius XI, Apostle of Peace.* (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiv, 257. $2.50.) Written in the easily-read style of a popular biography, this work considers the historically important figure of Pius XI as an agent for peace in the modern world. Well-told is the story of his life as a great librarian, a papal nuncio, and then as the pope of peace. The work of Dr. Ratti during his service as the papal representative in Poland

is handled creditably. Yet one of the most important of Pius' works, the Lateran Accord, is treated too briefly. Many things which are only hinted at could have been explained. The author does succeed in showing Pius' place in the world as a sincere and ardent power for peace among nations. She ably analyzes the relation between the Vatican and the Italian State. Both bibliography and index are ample. (WILLIAM J. SCHIFFERLI)

CHANTAL, SISTER F. DE. *Julie Billiart and Her Institute.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1938. Pp. 280. $2.40.) The name of Julie Billiart is well known among educationists in this country and abroad. Born in Picardy in 1751, she showed early signs of a natural gift for teaching. Unfortunately, however, she was unable to put forth her best efforts for Christian education because of illness, and it was not until she was over fifty years of age that she founded her religious Congregation dedicated to the Christian education of youth. Since then her Institute has spread throughout Belgium, Italy, the British Isles, the Belgian Congo, China, Japan and the United States.

This book, done by a member of the Dowanhill (Glasgow) community is based largely on material already in print, yet it is a worthwhile addition to *Billiartiana* in that it is a popular presentation of the remarkable life-story of Blessed Julie and the great work she commenced. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand, Presented upon the Completion of his Fortieth Year of Teaching. Edited by LESLIE WEBBER JONES. (Published by the editor, Butler Hall, 400 West 119th St., New York City. 1938. Pp. 310. $4.50.) This volume in honor of Professor Rand of Harvard, who may be considered the dean of American mediaevalists, contains twenty-eight studies contributed by former pupils and by colleagues and friends It is of interest to readers of the REVIEW to know that among the contributors are Giovanni Cardinal Mercati and Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B. The studies reflect the varied interests of Professor Rand in his long life of inspiring teaching and fruitful scholarship. Although of unequal importance, they are on a uniformly high scholarly level. The book has six full-page illustrations, including a portrait of Professor Rand, and a list of subscribers, but no index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

DEVANE, JAMES. *The Clash of Cultures.* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1938. Pp. 256, 316A.) This book has been written at white heat, in a terrible loneliness of righteous anger. It is the loneliness of Eire, herself, who has trodden the winepress alone. For "in Ireland, everything was torn to fragments—the body and the soul of the people, the race, the language, the religion, the land itself dismembered." Back to these roots of race and land, Mr. Devane takes us on an investigation of that Celtic culture whose first fruits were reaped by the Roman Empire. The subsequent Christian conquest of the Irish was merely a mating of kindred spirits because the Celt above all other men possesses an *anima naturaliter Catholica.* Even the first English invasion of Ireland in 1172 resulted in a *"racial culture within a common religious culture"* (the italics are the author's), and until the sixteenth century Ireland appeared to be absorbing her enemies. But after 1572 religion became the

test and instrument of government. This period of the penal laws, from 1690 until 1800, saw Ireland reduced to a servile state, sinking lower than any other European people. A nation, chants James Devane in tones approaching a jeremiad, that would cease to be Irish only in devastation and death, now lay prostrate in the pit. The scorn of a Swift flickers over these pages, yet tempered by a tenderness that the Dean could not know—the charity of Catholic heritage. We look before and after—at this country and its centuries spread like a map before us, the traditions of its race penetrating to the remotest memory of man—and we hope for what must come from a people inviolate and invincible. (ALICE MCLARNEY)

DUFFIN, MOTHER MARY G. *A Heroine of Charity, Venerable Mother d' Youville.* (New York: Benziger Brothers. 1938. Pp. xx, 197. $1.75.) Primarily intended to increase devotion to the memory of Mother d' Youville, this book is not in any sense the complete story of the great foundress of the Grey Nuns of Montreal. But her outstanding characteristics are here, and hence this may be useful for those who do not know the full story of her life. It also gives sketches of the lives of several of her successors and a number of interesting illustrations. There is no index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. Compiled by EVERETT E. EDWARDS with an Introduction by FULMER MOOD. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 316. $3.50.) In a well-written Preface, Louise Phelps Kellogg sounds a proper key-note to this commendable book in her assurance that "she represents the great body of Turner students when she expresses her gratification over the publication of this volume" (ix). Frederick Jackson Turner's contribution to American historiography is one of enduring importance. It is eminently fitting that a book perpetuating his memory should be among the first of the University of Wisconsin Press. Born in Wisconsin, educated at its University, and teaching there, Professor Turner owed much of his inspiration to the land which nurtured him. It was in this environment that he derived his "Significance of the Frontier in American History."

Among his early writings in this volume is the twenty-eight page essay on "The Significance of History"; the sixteen page essay on "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin", and the ninety-eight page essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Twelve pages devoted to a comparison of the various printings of the last-named treatise form an interesting study. Over a period of thirty years the essay was repeatedly revised by the author, but the peculiar fact is that these changes should be so few, that in 1920 after a period of nearly thirty years the essay which Turner had published could still stand in essentially its original form "as the expression of his mature scholarship." To the satisfaction, which disciples of Turner have in the publication of this well-edited manual, is added the gratitude they experience in being afforded here a complete bibiography of Turner's Works. The volume, too, is well-indexed—an index to the bibliography of Turner's Writings and a general index to the entire book. (FINTAN WALKER)

GARRETT, CHRISTINA HALLOWELL. *The Marian Exiles.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. 388. $6.50.) This book records the results of a painstaking search into all the available sources of information concerning the hundreds of Protestants who left England during the reign of Queen Mary for a temporary residence in France and Germany. The libraries of Oxford and Cambridge have been ransacked; and so have the archives of Strasburg, Aarau, Basle, Geneva and Zurich.

It is the purpose of the author, who denies that she has any "theological" bias and who describes herself as a historical detective, to investigate the growing conviction that this exodus of Englishmen was not an exile in the face of persecution (as has been believed for four hundred years) but was a well-planned migration for political purposes. She maintains that it was financed by wealthy merchants, and that it was known both in England and abroad to be a conspiracy to establish on foreign soil a centre of influence that would spread disaffection at home by means of printed propaganda, and, as the event proved, that would ultimately turn a temporary setback to the Church robbers into a victory.

The author maintains that Gardiner imprudently welcomed the migration as a means of freeing himself from the presence of a difficult minority and that no obstacles were placed in its way; whilst Cecil was fully aware of its political purpose. It was therefore not an exile for conscience sake, but an astute manoeuvre on the part of the dissidents.

This thesis is developed in the first sixty pages of the book, the reader being left to draw his own conclusions from the mass of evidence accumulated under the names of the 472 persons who are known so far to have left the country. The bulk of the book is therefore of the nature of a "Who's Who". The difficulty of identifying these persons has been very great. There is the well-known custom of the time to Latinize surnames; and there were good reasons for hiding personalities. Those who have engaged in genealogical searches in Tudor days will have some idea of the task. We are prepared for a liberal use of the words: "possibly", "probably", "perhaps" and so forth which are not pleasing to the ears of historical students. But this is to be expected and the author is always honest. Amidst much that is admittedly uncertain undeniable facts are to be found and the evidence is all in one direction. The religious convictions of the emigrants have already been lauded by their ministers who became bishops in Elizabeth's reign, but of these convictions their is little historical evidence and of their alleged sufferings there is none. The whole story reminds one strongly of the methods at present used by the Communist Party, and there will be many who see in the Marian exile the same dire purpose of destroying the unity of the Church in favor of a new political and social order.

The author who is not a Catholic has dealt another blow at the tottering structure which was once called the history of the English Reformation. (EDWARD F. HAWKS)

GEARY, SISTER M. THEOPHANE, M.A. *A History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860.* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1938. Pp. ix, 274.) This monograph is a serious and well written study of

Pennsylvania politics in the two decades preceding the Civil War, with special reference to the third parties flourishing in that era. It begins with a discussion of the Anti-Masonic party, which by 1840 had entered upon its decline. Chapter two describes the rise of the Liberty party, and is followed by three chapters devoted to the origin and growth of Nativism in Pennsylvania. In chapter six the Free Soil party is discussed, and the succeeding chapter describes the recrudescence of Nativism in the appearance of the Know Nothing party. This is followed by a chapter on the inter-play of party politics, which lays the foundation for the concluding chapter on the triumph of the liberty movement in the rise of the Republican party and the election of Lincoln.

We are glad to have this book; it is a welcome addition to the limited number of scholarly monographs dealing with the somewhat complicated subject of Pennsylvania politics. It is a substantial piece of work, and is a valuable contribution to the history of Pennsylvania. Though dealing at times with subjects of a controversial nature, it is free from bias. The format is good and the index adequate, and there is a comprehensive bibliography.

Some typographical errors have crept in, but not many. Through an oversight in proof reading, Chapter Eight has a different wording in the table of contents from that found in the body of the text. Berks was not one of the three original counties of Pennsylvania, which were Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks. However, the errors found in the book are few and of slight importance, and the reviewer is glad to commend the work to historical scholars and to the reading public as a production of real merit. (WAYLAND F. DUNAWAY)

Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana Newly Discovered to the Southwest of New France by Order of the King. Translated and edited by MARION E. CROSS. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. xvii, 190. $3.50.) Father Hennepin wrote his *Description of Louisiana* in 1682. Jumping at once into popularity, it had a long vogue among European readers, but was not translated into English until 1880, when Mr. John Gilmary Shea, not "Father" as the publishers of Miss Cross' translation appear to think, performed the needed task in a rather stilted but accurate manner. This newest version by Miss Cross purports to give "a readable translation preserving the spirit of the original." Undoubtedly, the present translation is freer and less literal than Shea's, and as such will have more appeal to the general reader. If Shea's notes had been incorporated in the present work and if his comparison with the *Relations des découvertes* by Bernou had been inserted, the student might well dispense with Shea. But the scholar will still have to refer to the original and to Shea, whose edition "is now almost as difficult to obtain as the original itself." The general reader will thank Miss Cross for her translation; she would have earned the thanks of the impecunious student had she also reprinted the original. Hennepin's *Louisiana* was the first travel book on North America by a missionary to appear after the Jesuits had ceased publishing their *Relations*—the assertion in the introduction that the *Relations* were suppressed is a legend disposed of half a century ago. Why then was not the French text also published with a page for page English translation as Thwaites did in his monumental collection?

If Shea's translation is difficult to obtain, the price of the original French edition, when dealers have a copy to sell, is forbidding. In the short space allowed to the reviewer, to discuss some of the translated passages or to make comparisons between the two translations is out of the question, and the contents of Father Hennepin's *Description* are too well known to need to be indicated. (JEAN DELANGLEZ)

GILBERT, ALLAN H. *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners.* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1938. Pp. 266. $3.00.) The primary purpose of this volume is to present the ideas and the formulation of the ideas in Machiavelli's *Prince* against the background of earlier and contemporary works dealing with the same or related themes. In the form of a running commentary, the author lists parallel passages in writers from St. Thomas Aquinas to Machiavelli's own age. Occasionally parallels found in the Greek and Latin classics and in writers later than Machiavelli are also presented. This book is a valuable contribution to Machiavellian studies. The *Prince* is placed much more definitely and concretely than hitherto in the literary tradition of which it is the most famous representative. The lack of originality in the work, at least of originality in the modern sense, is now made strikingly clear. In his bibliography, Professor Gilbert gives a useful, but incomplete, list of treatises *de regimine principum*. Since, as he tells us in his preface, he has a much larger number on file, he should certainly be encouraged to publish as complete a list as possible of such treatises in the near future. The bibliographical data should be fuller, however, than they are in his present bibliography. The book contains five plates and is well indexed. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

GLASS, SISTER M. FIDES. *The Prince Who gave his Gold Away, a Story of the Russian Prince, Demetrius Gallitzin.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1938. Pp. ix, 218. $2.00.) To bring persons and events important in the history of the Catholic Church in this country within the scope of the interest and understanding of American boys and girls is a laudable purpose. That is why this book deserves notice in these pages. There is an added reason also. Not only does it make accessible to adult readers as well a brief account of the life of Prince Gallitzin, an important consideration in that the larger Brownson biography is out of print and is found only with difficulty, but it contains episodes handed down to Sister Fides by her great grandmother, a friend of Prince Gallitzin, as well as other information not to be found in the Brownson volume. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

HEILER, FRIEDRICH. *Die katholische Kirche des Ostens und Westens.* Band 1: *Urkirche und Ostkirche.* (München: Aschendorff. 1937. Pp. xx, 607. RM. 73.) This work is in part a revision of the author's *Katholizismus, seine Idee und seine Erscheinung,* which appeared in 1922, and was soon answered by Karl Adam's brilliant study, *Das Wesen des Katholizismus.* Since, as he states in his *Vorwort,* Heiler has not changed his basic views in his new volume, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the critical evaluation of these views given by Karl Adam in the work mentioned. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

HOLBORN, HAJO. *Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation.* Translated by ROLAND H. BAINTON. *Yale Historical Publications: Studies,* XI. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 214. $3.00.) This most recent biography of Ulrich von Hutten is at once a translation from the German original of 1929 and a revision made in close collaboration with the author. The changes have been made largely in the interest of the English reader, most significantly by the addition of an introductory discussion of conditions in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In such brief compass the inevitable generalizations are bound to give to the past a static character which will make the student wince.

On such a controversial subject as Hutten's historical importance it seems most appropriate to state that Professor Holborn envisages the poet and knight as the first personality to bring into a "living synthesis" the Humanism, Nationalism, and Protestantism of Reformation Germany. More simply, following Dilthey, Hutten "is the first modern German". An appendix furnishes the reader with some discussion of the opposing viewpoint, represented most recently by Kalkoff. For such Protestant and Catholic scholars Hutten plays no great positive role in history. He is interesting but not over-significant except to his own time and class.

The reader will be impressed, then, if the author's enthusiasm delights him rather than makes him wary; if the many reappraisals of the Renaissance and Humanism have not disturbed him; and if he recalls no personalities, or individualism, flourishing untrammelled during the Middle Ages. In any case scholar and general reader alike will be grateful for a presentation of the life of Ulrich von Hutten *in English.* Any new edition should be carefully checked. Certainly Charlemagne never helped Boniface evangelize the German tribes from Fulda (p. 17). Another "German", Nicholas of Cusa, commonly receives credit for calling the Donation of Constantine into question (p. 107), by Hutten's time pretty much a dead-issue for scholars. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

HOPPER, VINCENT F., Assistant Professor of English, New York University. *Medieval Number Symbolism; Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression.* (New York: Columbia University Press. *Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature,* No. 132. 1938. Pp. xii, 241. $2.90.) This book possesses decided interest for the history of institutions, religion, philosophy and science, as well as of literature. Brief chapters on elementary number symbolism, the astrological numbers, Pythagorean number theory and Gnosticism are followed by others on early Christian writers, medieval works, Dante, and number symbols in northern paganism. There is a thorough index.

In the main, the work is scholarly, well written and fascinating to read. A considerable body of pertinent materials from the works of Cassian and Caesarius of Arles, medieval folklore and law, and sources for the history of penance are neglected. Better editions should have been used for a number of primary sources. The extensive bibliography omits essential works on medieval preaching and on Joachim of Flora. Certain remarks concerning Christian beliefs on pp. 7, 13, 23, 51, 70 ff., 82f., 85, 110 and 116 have a strong savor of skeptical irreverence. (THOMAS P. OAKLEY)

HUSSEY, J. M. *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185.* (London: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. 259. $4.25.) In this book, the author concentrates her attention on the work and influence of Michael Psellus and of Symeon the Young. Hence she is primarily concerned with the eleventh century and deals rather sketchily with the preceding and following periods. Furthermore, in spite of the title, only certain aspects of Church history are treated, the liturgy and ecclesiastical art not being taken up at all. The author has a good knowledge of her sources and of the modern literature; and, within the limits set, she has written a valuable and interesting monograph. An appendix contains a translation of Michael Psellus' work on Plato's ideas. There is a good bibliography and good indices. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

LAWSON, F. MELVYN and VERNA KOPKA LAWSON. *Our America: Today and Yesterday.* (Chicago: D. C. Heath & Co. 1938. Pp. iii, 864. $2.20.) A better title would have been—"Some Phases of American Life Today with Excursions into the Past for Illustrative Purposes." The book consistently develops the plainly stated objective of the authors: "whose major interest in life has been to 'sell' the social studies to the highschool boy and girl. It was written not with the idea of making historians, economists, or sociologists of its readers but to meet the average young American where he is. . . ."

It has been written for the *average* young American but in a particular setting. It is the result of experimentation with a group of pupils in two secondary schools, one large, one small, and with three speed groups. The question arises whether this is sufficient sampling to determine its value in a wider field. The procedure has necessitated subjective treatment.

The student using this book as a text would need to have an excellent foundation in American history or the cursory allusions to past events would have little significance. This text seems to answer a definite need in a specific situation.

The authors state the policy of pursuing their objective by revealing to the student the most easily recognized institutions of which he is a part—"his home, his school, and his local community." These then broaden his horizon so as to include state, national, and international organizations. The Church is not classed among "the easily recognized institutions," and the further development is consistent. Whereas the services of the school are evaluated in thirty-three pages and those of the state in three hundred and thirty, the home is treated in seven pages and the Church in one paragraph.

In said paragraph the students are told that: "There are many different kinds of churches in nearly every locality but the purpose of each is about the same." Unquestionably the discussion of religion or the Church is difficult to handle in a textbook designed for students of all creeds, nevertheless, if the impact of the social institutions on the life of an individual is being emphasized, religion as a corporate manifestation of the life of society cannot be neglected.

Controversial matters such as Socialism, Communism, and Fascism, have been treated in as objective a manner as possible. Although one feels assured that the writers have no sympathy with any of the "isms" and in fact they sum up by emphasizing the undeniable superiority of democracy, nevertheless,

in the effort to secure impartiality the good points of the other systems have been stressed and their evils minimized.

The book in common with the majority of our recent textbooks presents a curious paradox. It attempts to present concepts beyond the grasp of the adolescent reader in language which has been simplified to the level of the pre-adolescent child. (SISTER M. CELESTE LEGER)

LINCOLN, ANTHONY. *Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent, 1763-1800.* (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 292. $2.50.) This book lives up to its title. It is concerned principally with political and social ideas and treating some of them on the basis of no clearly visible method of selection. It hardly justifies the author's intention, expressed in the Introduction, "to trace the significant process of evolution by which Christian liberties became merged into natural liberties and the particular privileges claimed in virtue of Christian conscience and Christian salvation came to be transformed into the rights belonging to all men" (pp. 1-2). Perhaps it is unfair to find fault with the author in this regard, for there was, in fact, no such "significant process of evolution." Mr. Lincoln should have understood this because he mentions that the so-called Dissenting literature of the period exhibits a "mature school of natural right politics", which antedates even the French Revolution. There was a "Revolution Society" existing at least as early as 1788, which was definitely of a political nature and which regarded itself as part of the Dissenting Interest only by virtue of an anachronism which identifies all political and social independence with Non-conformity in religion. Similarly, the Hackney Academy, founded (1786) ostensibly as a London school for Dissenters' children, was from its beginning a hotbed of merely political discussion and activity, as Mr. Lincoln admits (p. 95). Again the author seems to negate any theory of a "significant process of evolution," when he declares that the whole Dissenting theory of education was changed because it became "the ambition of English Dissent to secularize its relations with the community" (p. 82).

Elsewhere in his book Mr. Lincoln is much more clear and observant. He states correctly the essentially narrow constitution of the Dissenters' Interest, when he says: "The social dimensions of the Interest were clear; it did not seek to embrace those in the highest places, who were in danger of being tainted with atheism, nor did it stoop to conquer the lowest classes so easily swayed by Methodism and enthusiasm" (pp. 13-14). He does not show how this narrow basis would lead inevitably to intolerance, but he does fully recognize this latter quality on the part of the Dissenters, pointing out that the divisive tendencies of this artificial Interest caused private test acts in their schools at the very time of their fight against the Test and Corporation Acts. The author clearly understands the Dissenting theory of education as a natural right and as an aspect of civil liberty "which ought by no means to be surrendered into the hands of the magistrate." But one finds difficulty in reconciling his view that Dissenting education rested upon "the double foundation of the Word of God and the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*," with the emphatic assertion that the Dissenters' academies gave the best education to be found in England at that time (pp. 66-67). The

anomalous foundation does not seem sufficient for the alleged superstructure. One is grateful to the author for his splendid summary of the thought and achievements of two of the great Dissenters of the age—Richard Price and Joseph Priestly. Especially one is pleased to be reminded of Priestly's opinion that state education would be the enemy of natural diversity as well as of natural rights. One realizes his almost prophetic insight in declaring that such education might well destroy the "infinite variety" which is the glory of humanity, and in its place impose a dull uniformity (p. 168). One may seriously question Mr. Lincoln's view that Priestly was "the last of England's religious martyrdoms" (p. 179), or that he merits any place at all in the roll of martyrs for a religious faith. Mr. Lincoln has the happy faculty of throwing out occasional pungent briefs which are almost epigrammatic. A case in point is the assertion that the eighteenth-century Dissenters suffered as victims of a formula, even as the Roman Catholics had previously been made to suffer under the formula of "Popery and Arbitrary Power" (p. 4). Another is the view that the Dissenters retained the mentality of revolt because they were regarded as "victims of a sort of political original sin" (p. 9). Another, to which grave objection may be raised, is that "much of what we call Political Philosophy is a camp-child born on the battlefield of Church and State" (p. 273). Where were Plato and Aristotle? But perhaps the author saves himself here by the word "much", even as the "some" brings accuracy to the title. (HEWITT B. VINNEDGE)

LUNN, ARNOLD. *Spanish Rehearsal.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xiv, 254. $2.50.) In view of the vast amount of propaganda emanating from the sympathizers of the Madrid-Barcelona regime any attempt to give the other side of the story of Spain's Civil War is a contribution to a better understanding of the episode as a whole. It is not to be expected, of course, that all such attempts would be equal in value; some fall quite short of what is desired by the seeker after truth. In this category is *Spanish Rehearsal* by Arnold Lunn. Written in a journalistic style, it is an unconvincing bit of evidence when compared with the accounts of Knoblaugh, McNeill-Moss or Allison Peers. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

MANROSS, WILLIAM WILSON. *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 270. $3.25.) Dr. Manross has given to the world of literature a compendium of very valuable information, covering a period when competition among different Christian faiths was quite keen. It also comprehends that period immediately following the Revolutionary War when "the Church of England in the Colonies", because she was the daughter of the English Church, was persecuted; in some quarters, unmercifully.

This book is very valuable in its compilation of facts and figures. To the student it will prove most helpful from an historical standpoint. giving as it does a sketch of the state and growth and shortcomings of that Church, which has today grown to such large proportions.

The nine chapters deal with the colonial background; the growth of the Church; the rector, the missionary, the parish, the layman and his work.

Writing of the first Bishops, the author notes the variety of restrictions that surrounded the office. The great questions of policy were *not* left to the Bishops, but were settled in the annual meetings of the Diocesan Conventions, composed of clerical and lay representatives. The office of a Bishop was so frowned upon that the Constitution of the Church subjected Bishops to trial by the Convention, rather than by their own peers. As a result they were unable to give to the Church that great leadership which she so sorely needed.

In the chapter describing the office of a rector, the author stresses strongly the difficulty under which the Church labored in these early days, particularly with reference to the lack of theological seminaries in this young nation; as a result, universities, colleges, and theological seminaries were founded by the Church in different parts of the country.

Dealing with the missionary, the author attributes the lack of Missionary zeal to the causes growing out of the American Revolution and the persecution of the Church; but he also stresses the fact, that then, as is true today, Episcopalians were less generous than the denominations. The West was being settled, but men and money were lacking. He pays just tribute to Trinity Church Corporation (New York) for their missionary zeal, as evidenced by gifts of money for building churches and sustaining missionaries; but this was confined almost entirely to the State of New York; the result was that the Middle West, as far as the Episcopal Church was concerned, was neglected and because of this neglect, the Episcopal Church is today not strong in that section. Again, this condition forced the Church to form its own missionary society, which Society did and still does a magnificent work.

Dr. Manross, in his chapter on the Parish, tells his readers that the Vestry, which plays such a large part in the life of the Episcopal Church in America today, was an institution which was brought from England, where the name had originally been applied to a meeting of the whole Parish, out of which grew a "select vestry". In this form, the Vestry was brought to America, largely because it was adapted to colonial conditions.

Early in the history of the Episcopal Church (after the Revolution) the laity were given an important share in its government. One-half of the lower house in General Convention and half of the voting power in the diocesan conventions were composed of laymen. The author has gone to a great deal of effort in collecting data concerning the occupations of vestrymen, and his list reads like a Chamber of Commerce roster. The Episcopal Church attracted to it the outstanding laymen of this young country; not only were they attracted, but they did yeoman's service.

Unlike the denominations, the Episcopal Church in this period and since then has never taken a stand on great movements, such as temperance, slavery, etc. Because of this attitude, it is probable that, while the Episcopal Church in the North and South temporarily ceased assembling in Conventions during the Civil War, nevertheless after this unpleasont conflict, the Church was one; this cannot be said of many of the denominations. (CHARLES T. WARNER)

LYNN, CARO. *A College Professor of the Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Siculo among the Spanish Humanists.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937.

Pp. ix, 302. $3.00.) With a polished style, readily assimilated to the spirit of his subject, Professor Lynn has written the life of Lucio Marineo (*c.* 1460-1533) whose humanistic course took him from Sicily to long academic and court service in Spain. The student will be pleased by the generous incorporation of source material within the author's narration, especially in this connection by the use of Marineo's *Epistolaria*, an extensive correspondence with Spanish educators during the period 1484-1514.

Serving God and the Muses, the Spanish Humanist nevertheless is seen to fit nicely into the incipient totalitarianism of their Catholic Majesties, according to the best antique tradition. Once again mediaeval dialectics are shown in opposition to Humanism. It is rather abrupt to mention Abelard, "the inspiring leader", as introducing men to the lure of speculative thought, then to say that the great idea of a great mind became flatulent in the interpretation and practice of his followers. Humanistic repugnance to mediaeval philosophy had so sound a basis that present-day historians should be at pains to find better ones. Of course it would be ungracious, in the case of the Humanist, to speak of the "letter-killing". (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

Medieval Handbooks of Penance . . . and Related Documents. Translated by JOHN T. MCNEILL and HELENA M. GAMER. (New York: Columbia University Press. *Records of Civilization*, No. XXIX. 1938. Pp. xiv, 476. $4.75.) Penitential discipline exercised a profound and far-reaching influence upon medieval life, as shown elsewhere by this reviewer. (See this REVIEW, October, 1938, pp. 293-309 and his other works, cited therein). For the manuals of penance, the book under review provides polished and substantially accurate translations, with related materials from other penitential canons, synodical decisions, secular laws, and ecclesiastical opinions; besides a brief general introduction on the history of penance and the penitentials, and usually good critical introductions to individual documents. Although several previously unpublished manuals are included and some excellent work done in establishing improved readings, there is no valid justification for omitting numerous canons important for the history of canon law, paganism, taboos, social history and inter-penitential relations; or of many valuable passages on penance and excommunication in medieval secular laws. Numerous essential, pertinent works on the history of penance and of law have not been consulted.

Inadequate treatment is accorded to the broader relations, influence and secular enforcement of penitential discipline; the details of public and of private penance; variations in the jurisdictions and strength of the different secular laws; and the textual relations of several penitentials. Exaggerated or inaccurate statements are made concerning commutations and redemptions, the uniqueness of Celtic penance, the authority of the penitentials, the alleged authorship of a penitential by Finnian of Clonard, and pagan Irish elements in penitential discipline.

Notwithstanding the above defects, however, the book is a welcome addition to the translated sources for medieval history. (THOMAS P. OAKLEY)

MENGES, HIERONYMUS, D.D. *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus.* (Muenster i W.: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1938. Pp. xii, 190. 4.50 RM.) Though the veneration of images has long since

ceased to be a moot question in the Catholic Church, it will nevertheless prove both interesting and instructive to retrace at the hand of the thorough study by Menges the successive steps of the historical evolution of the controversy, and to become acquainted with the reasons which St. John Damascene adduces in favor of the cult of images in his writings, of which the sixteenth chapter of the *Fides orthodoxa,* and three "Homilies on holy images" are pertinent in this connection.

In the primitive Christian Church veneration of images was certainly not encouraged. It may rather be assumed that the contrary took place. The explanation for this attitude will be found in the circumstances that the Christians of Jewish origin clung to the Mosaic prohibition of pictorial representations, and that converts from paganism in their first fervor would be inclined to look upon image-worship as a form of idolatry. Very slowly the Church overcame the aversion for imaginal representations of sacred persons, and elaborated the notion of the picture as a mere representation of the object to be venerated in contrast with the pagan conception which saw in it an object of veneration in its own right, and for its own sake.

St. John Damascene, who was born about 675 and whose death probably occurred on December 4th, 749, brought to recognition the point of view which on the whole prevails at present, and has been universally accepted. Basing his speculations on the writings of Basil the Great, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Leontius of Neapolis on Cyprus, as his main sources, St. John formulated the principle that the image is venerated not on its own account, but that in the picture the person represented is honoured, and that consequently the homage rendered the image passes to the object of which it is the representation.

In the occidental Church the cult of images progressed more rapidly than in the Orient, where the close contact with Mohammedanism, which abhorred every picturization of the human form, retarded the development, and led repeatedly to the well known outbursts of iconoclasm of the Byzantines. While the Occident as early as the fourth century knows of pictorial representations of the Blessed Trinity, the Orient even long afterwards still holds that of God the Father as the source of the Godhead no image, not even a symbolical one, could be tolerated. St. John shares this view to the extent that he also regards it as improper to represent the Divinity in external form. From the Incarnation of the Son of God, however, he draws the inference that it is legitimate to give pictorial expression to the God who has assumed visible form. "Only the visible flesh," he says in his third homily, "the figure of Our Lord and Saviour, we portray, not the invisible Godhead."

How highly the Church estimates the argumentation of St. John appears from the fact that the Roman Catechism recommends the reading of his writings concerning the veneration of images to the pastors of souls that they may be enabled to combat effectively those who deny this truth.

Though the work has a very comprehensive bibliography it lacks an index of persons and topics. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

MEYER, JAMES, O.F.M. *Social Ideals of Saint Francis.* (St. Louis and London: Herder. 1938. Pp. 128. $1.25.) This work deals with the proceedings of the Fourth Quinquennial Congress of the Third Order of Saint Francis

in the United States, held in October, 1936. It is an application of the idealism of Saint Francis to practical problems. For the tertiary, it lays down principles of action and attitude toward the social and economic questions of the day and is based on the idea that reform must be an individual affair before it becomes a mass affair. The three fundamental rules consist in no trespassing on the rights of others in order to obtain goods, in moderation in acquiring and enjoying these goods, and in the sharing of them with God and neighbor. The book is similar, in part, to the *Quadragesimo Anno,* but is written with a view to the relation of Franciscan Tertian ideals to the problems of the day. Eminently practical, sound in principles, this book is fascinating for the student of the Church and her efforts in the field of social reforms. (W. J. S.)

MICHEL, ANTON. *Papstwahl und Königsrecht oder das Papstwahl-Konkordat von 1059.* (München: Max Hueber. 1936. Pp. xvi, 228. RM. 6.40.) The author justifies this study on the ground that it endeavors to interpret the meaning of the decree establishing papal elections on the basis of what its authors and their predecessors had in mind rather than, as has hitherto been the practice, on the basis of what was written by men who, writing after 1059, were affected by the controversies that ensued. Much of the monograph is, therefore, devoted to a critical examination of the pertinent writings of Cardinal Humbert and Peter Damiani, and materials antedating 1059. In consequence, it appears that the order was not, as is often stated, a clever stroke eliminating the emperor from the election of popes, but in reality a concordat between the *curia* and the German imperial state; as Peter Damiani called it, *a foedus amicitiae, beneficii pactum.* (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

MITCHELL, R. J. *John Tiptoft: An Italianate Englishman: 1427-1470.* (London: Longmans. 1938. Pp. xii, 263. $4.50.) This is a well-written fully documented story of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, against the background of fifteenth century England and Italy. Tiptoft was one of a little band of scholars who traveled far to bring back to England knowledge of the New Learning. His travels took him to Palestine, where he visited Jerusalem and other holy places and to Italy where he visited Venice, Florence, Padua and Rome. At Padua he resided for some time studying Latin. He was an accomplished Latin scholar, an eager student, a friend and patron of men of learning. Italian humanists and scholars dedicated works to him. In Italy he bought many books for the libraries of his native land. Moreover, Tiptoft's ability brought him into prominence in England and he took an active part in affairs of state, holding many important offices. He devoted himself energetically to the cause of Edward IV which finally cost him his life in 1470. Much research has brought new material to light. A contemporary account of his travels has been found, as well as a number of his books hitherto thought to be lost. Tiptoft translated Cicero's *De Amicitia* and Buonaccorsi's *Declamacion of Noblesse,* both of which were printed by Caxton in 1481. The *Declamacion* is printed in the appendix. Reference notes are placed at the end of the book. The bibliography and index are excellent. There are fourteen rare collotype illustrations. The book should appeal not only to students of mediaeval history and the history of English literature and language, but to the general reader as a vivid picture of life and manners in

the fifteenth century. Two things stand out prominently in the book—a description of mediaeval university life and an account of a pilgrimage. (HERBERT W. RICE)

MOEDER, JOHN M. *Early Catholicity and History of the Diocese of Wichita.* (Wichita: Kansas. 1937. Pp. xii, 200.) It is fortunate for the future historian of the Church in the United States that an increasing number of diocesan and parish histories, to say nothing of the biographies and accounts of institutional life, are making their appearance usually in connection with an anniversary of some sort. The diocese of Wichita has just celebrated its golden year of foundation and has marked the event with an account of what happened in that part of Kansas in the last fifty years. Part I gives a brief summary of the faith in Kansas before the establishment of the Wichita diocese in 1887, whereas Parts II, III and IV are concerned with the history of the episcopates of Bishops Hennessy and Schwertner, with special emphasis on a calendar of events from 1887 on. An index and a necrology of the clergy give added value to the book. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

Monumenta Ignatiana. SERIES TERTIA, TOMUS TERTIUS. *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu.* TEXTUS LATINUS. (Romae: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. Pp. clii, 368.) The interesting prolegomena of this volume reveal some reasons why the Constitutions of Ignatius have special interest for the historian. They hold the key, of course, for the Society's wide cultural and missionary activities; but, furthermore, they marked the inauguration of new phases of religious community life. Their adoption was synchronous with the introduction of the simple and temporary vows, and the dropping of the choir from its rank as an integral part of the daily monastic routine. Was Ignatius the sole inspirational source of these and allied changes in ecclesiastical discipline? Or was he only the Church's answer to a growing need for new equipment and technique to meet changing social conditions? Was he just her tool for the releasing of new energies in the ultra and infra areas of her divinely powered spectrum? Be that as it may, the editors present a list of religious institutes, founded since the sixteenth century, that follow the lead of the Loyolan Constitutions, occasionally borrowing passages *verbatim.* And, at least two of the older Orders that have revised their manner of life since 1600 reveal unmistakable traces of the Society's influence.

This last volume of the third series of the *Monumenta* displays the same scholarly precision that was found in the preceding two. The editors profess that, though conscious of defects and limitations, they have, "with scrupulous fidelity, revealed everything that human industry could discover in all known sources." A careful reading leads one to admit they have not overstated their devotion to truth and duty. (STEPHEN J. MCDONALD)

MOREY, DOM ADRIAN, O.S.B. *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist. A Study in the Twelfth Century.* (Cambridge: The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 321. $6.50.) This book consists of two parts. The first is biographical and deals with the life and work of

Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (d. 1184). The second contains an introduction and the Latin text of Bartholomew's *Penitential*. The author modestly admits that Bartholomew, a contemporary of St. Thomas Becket, Henry II and John of Salisbury, can claim no central place in the history of his time, but maintains that since the struggle between king and archbishop has monopolized the interest of historians, the English episcopate has been neglected. In his attempt to give "a full account of one of Becket's bishops from a study of the sources," he has succeeded admirably, although the book is intended for the scholar rather than for the general reader. Bartholomew's life, his early years, his relations with Becket, Henry II, John of Salisbury, his career as bishop and as papal judge-delegate in which capacity he "was employed perhaps more frequently than any other English bishop" (p. 44), are treated with scholarly thoroughness and in as great detail as the available primary material permits. The result is not easy reading and presupposes on the reader's part a considerable knowledge of the events and personalities of contemporary English history. The book will be of particular interest to students of canon law because of its exposition of the working of the papal judge-delegate system at the time when "the law of the Western Church, the law of Rome . . . first *in practice* became operative" in England (p. 45). It is the author's opinion that "under such great popes as Alexander III and Innocent III, the judge-delegate system was at least as satisfactory as lay justice" (p. 76). The chapter on Bartholomew's management of his own diocese gives a remarkable picture of the routine of diocesan administration and a discussion of the special problems which faced an English bishop in the twelfth century. Several charters and a study of the archdeacons of Exeter are appended. Insufficiency of material prevents a more nearly complete discussion of the bishop's personality, but Dom Adrian concludes that he was both learned and genuinely pious, and absolutely loyal to the Holy See despite occasional exhibitions of an independent spirit. "In elevation of character he was superior to the king; in restraint and diplomatic ability he seems to have excelled St. Thomas; and throughout he was the friend of John of Salisbury" (p. 100). Part II (pp. 163-313) consists of a discussion of Bartholomew's works, of which the most important, the *Penitential*, is here published in full for the first time, with an indication of its immediate sources. It apparently enjoyed wide popularity in twelfth-century England and according to Dom Adrian would repay further study. Full bibliography and index conclude a work of evident scholarship, if not of popular appeal, in which the author has had the guidance of such noted scholars as Walther Holtzmann and Z. N. Brooke. It is a significant contribution to our knowledge of the twelfth century. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

MORGAN, THOMAS B. *A Reporter at the Papal Court. A Narrative of the Reign of Pope Pius XI.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. $3.00.) Neither in character nor in content can Mr. Morgan's narrative claim to be called, in the technical sense, historical. It is rather the work of a skilled journalist. Thus the passing of Benedict XV is turned into an occasion for a long and amusing story about Mr. Morgan's ejection from the cortile of San Damaso by a sergeant of the Swiss Guards. Even the election of Pius XI is

little more than a setting for the gossipy account of Cardinal O'Connell's double dramatic failure to reach Rome in time to cast his vote in Conclave. Mr. Morgan, in fact, keeps insisting on his character as journalist. "I was to be the first newspaperman in the world to be received in private audience by Pius XI." And there is surely almost a note of unconscious oxymoron in the characteristic remark: "The presence of the Holy See in Rome makes the post of Rome correspondent important."

One must not look here for a clear-cut outline of the life, work and significance of Pius XI. What one finds is a series of vignettes skilfully designed but wholly detached from the background of pontifical history. There is something about the education of the boy Ratti; about his years as librarian in Milan and Rome; about the diplomatic mission to Poland; about the Conciliation. There is one memorable story. It is the tale of mountaineer Ratti's scaling of Monte Rosa.

Being an American, Mr. Morgan has given an American color to his book. There is, for example, the story of the N-A-V-Y cheer given to the great delight of His Holiness by a group of cadets. There are many allusions to, and thumb-nail sketches of, members of the American hierarchy. There is a delightful page about an audience granted to Dr. Ullman of the University of Chicago. Although, in this instance, Mr. Morgan has omitted the most piquant part of the story. When the Pope learned that Dr. Ullman was no longer a librarian, he said with sly humor (as Dr. Ullman once told me): "Allora non è più papabile!"

The reader will find several slips. *Coro* should not have been rendered by *chorus* in the expression "Chapel of the Chorus"; nor should *diplomatica* have been rendered by *diplomacy*, when the reference was not to the art of negotiation but to the science of documents. It is surely improbable that "each Swiss Guard was attired in medieval armor, every piece of which has been handed down from father to son for the last three generations" (p. 48). It is still more improbable that Milan "became an archdiocese in the first century." That is a legend no older than the eleventh century. The bishop of Mediolanum who attended a council in Rome in 313 had knowledge of five predecessors only. It is not credible that one of these was an archbishop; still less, that he lived in the first century. It creates a false impression to say of St. Ambrose that he was "one of the four doctors of the early Church." He was one of four great Latin Doctors of whom one, St. Gregory, did not die till the beginning of the seventh century.

Many readers of this book will be most interested in the parts dealing with the Conciliation. They will be rewarded by one picture of Caesaresque vividness. Here is Mr. Morgan's succinct account of Mussolini praying at the tomb of St. Peter, after the audience in 1932.

> "He put his hands together. He closed his eyes and his lips moved. The prayer lasted two minutes. He had performed the rite. He was friends with the Pope."

Il Duce came and saw . . . and was conquered by the Pope. (GERALD G. WALSH)

MUELLER, ERNST. *Die Abrechnung des Johannes Hageboke ueber die Kosten der Belagerung der Stadt Muenster, 1534-1535.* (Muenster: Aschendorff. 1937. Pp. xvi, 170.) We have before us a valuable contribution to the source material pertaining to the history of the Baptists in Muenster. The publication commemorates the overthrow of the Baptist rule which took place 400 years ago.

The auditor was a rural priest of the Diocese of Muenster who enjoyed in a special manner the favor of the prince-bishops, Friedrich von Wied and Franz von Waldeck. He had attained considerable fame in the accounting business and was well equipped for this work calling for no small measure of financial ability. During the time of the siege of Muenster he acted as paymaster. The accounting of Hageboke does not cover the entire cost of the siege, but only the amount contributed by the Diocese of Muenster. For the contributions made by other Princes and the Empire the work of Hermann von Kersenbach, edited by H. Detmer, will have to be consulted. Though of a technical and local nature, the work possesses a general cultural interest as it contains important references to the topography of the scene on which the battles were fought and other details indispensable to a strategic history of the siege which still has to be written. An appendix gives the accounting of Heinrich Flyncterinck which comprises some curious information on the engines of war then in use. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

MUÑOZ, HONORIO, O.P. *Vitoria and the Conquest of America.* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press. 1938. Pp. 220. $2.00.) This is the second edition of the work published in 1935. It is a succinct and clear-cut analysis of Victoria's first reading "On the Indians," wherein the celebrated Spanish theologian, who died in 1546, discussed in the light of Christian morals and of international law what in his day was truly a "burning question," namely, the justice of Spain's claim to lands conquered by her in the New World. After sketching in Part One the life and activity of Vitoria and his mind on the "Indian question" in general, the author devotes Part Two to "The Illegitimate Titles", and Part Three to "The Legitimate Titles" of Spain to her New World possessions. Unfortunately the translation is frequently rather faulty—errors in spelling, ungrammatical and awkward sentence structure, and confusing punctuation. To no great extent, however, does this detract from the intrinsic value of an English version of a work dealing so admirably with a question that even to-day has more than merely academic interest. Vitoria was perhaps the most distinguished theologian of his day—a profound thinker, a careful and thorough investigator, an impartial judge, and a fearless propounder of Christian morality. Also, being a contemporary of the events he deals with, Vitoria must be given a hearing by all who to-day undertake to study and interpret the history of the Spanish conquest in America. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

The Old French lives of Saint Agnes, and other Vernacular Versions of the Middle Ages. Edited with an Introduction by ALEXANDER JOSEPH DENOMY, C.S.B. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 283. $4.00.) Father Denomy gives a discussion of the medieval legend of Saint Agnes from

its earliest mention in the writings of Saint Ambrose to its incorporation in the large collections of saints' lives in fourteenth-century French prose. He treats briefly the Latin and Greek versions which antedate the French texts, and then discusses at greater length five old French versions (three in verse and two in prose) as well as texts of the legend in Old England, Old Provençal, Old Italian, Middle English, Middle Frankish, and even modern Irish. The chief Old French verse text is published in full, and is accompanied by a study of the date of the manuscript, the author, the versification, and the phonology and morphology of the poem. Copious notes discuss problems of textual criticism, sources, and literary relationships. In a series of appendices are published four additional Old French lives and the modern Irish version. A bibliography, a glossary, and an index conclude the work. Altogether, this is one of the most complete studies ever produced on an Old French saint's life. (WILLIAM J. ROACH)

PEERS, ALLISON. *Catalonia Infelix.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 257. $3.00.) One of the perplexing sections of Spain, especially to the student of contemporary history, is Catalonia. To understand the present struggle, especially in its final stages, it is necessary to understand the history of Catalonia as it relates to the rest of Spain. Professor Peers tells a thrilling story in this book, from the time of Catalonia's greatness as an independent mediaeval state, through its decline after its union with Aragon and Castile, until its modern struggle for autonomy, and especially its part in the present Civil War. It is important to note that the author realizes Catalonia is not merely a Spanish province but a nation as such. After centuries of subjection and a hundred years of struggle, the Catalans enjoyed their autonomy for only four years. Then came the Revolution, the outcome of which may mean that Catalonia will no longer be autonomous—a fate brought about by the Soviets in whom Catalonia trusted too much. *Infelix* is peculiarly appropriate in the title of this book. The book itself, however, is a happy addition to the excellent works coming out regularly now on Spain. This one is from the pen of one who is perhaps the foremost English authority on Catalonia at the present time. It has a useful bibliography and an index, and a map of northeastern Spain. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

POWER, PATRICK. *Waterford and Dismore. A Compendious History of the United Dioceses.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1938. Pp. 402. $3.00.) The author of this very useful work, formerly professor of Archeology in University College, wrote the *Catholic Encyclopedia* article on this subject in 1912. Shortly afterwards, he also put out in book form many of his newspaper publications on the same subject, which had appeared from week to week in a Waterford paper. Of that book, the present history is no mere reprint. The old material has been recast and corrected, and with an equal amount of new material, is now presented as a completely new work.

After 50 pages, devoted to the story of the diocese in general, it takes up the parish histories in alphabetical order. The ecclesiastical geography, church property and pastoral succession, given for each parish constitutes a veritable mine of historical information. As might be expected, however, from the

author's specialty, the sections on ecclesiastical antiquities are the most detailed and impressing. Ruined churches are identified, holy wells indicated, ogham-inscribed stones pointed out, historical events tied up to individual localities, and distinguished persons recalled.

Waterford had its Golden Age in the 17th century. Its galaxy of eminent men included in the first place of course, the famous Franciscan Luke Wadding, priest, professor, patriot and historian. There is also his hardly less famous cousin, Peter Lombard, of Waterford, likewise professor, but at Louvain, who was made Archbishop of Armagh in 1601, but never set foot in his see. Another cousin of the famous Luke was Thomas Walsh, Vicar administrator of Waterford and later archbishop of Cashel. Besides these there were other Waddings, Peter, Luke, Ambrose, Michael, all Jesuits, and all members of one family, together with their brother Richard, who became an Augustinian. Michael is better known under his Spanish name of Godinez; he was author of the wonderful *Theologia Mystica* which rivalled *The Imitation of Christ* in popularity. From it one quotation opens up a whole vista of contemporary Irish history. "I recollect in my boyhood seeing a band of soldiers going around the streets (of Waterford) trying with gleaming pikes, to force the Catholics to Protestant worship. . . . I know some fathers of my own order who, disguised as soldiers, celebrated Mass in secret and administered Sacraments." And there was Geoffrey Keating, Ireland's earliest and greatest historian. The book contains interesting biographical sketches of these and many more, including the venerable Archbishop Brenan, friend and brother confessor of Blessed Oliver Plunket.

It will be a matter of surprise to many that the parish registers, with the exception of three or four, do not go back beyond the year 1796. The case of St. Patrick's, Waterford City, is unique. Its records extend to 1731, and, what is highly interesting, to us, often include the baptisms of children born in Newfoundland during the 18th century. Many of the inhabitants of that island were natives of Waterford: in fact its first and fourth bishops came from there, the second and third being Wexford men. Another note of interest to Americans is that Bishop Kelly of Richmond, Virginia, was translated to Waterford in 1822, and ruled there successfully until his death in 1829.

Eight illustrations add to the interest of the book, and a map and a good index facilitate its use. There are besides, several worthwhite appendices, among them No. VIII, which contains a list of Waterford students in the famous Irish Seminary of Salamanca in 1602-9. It includes twenty-five names, striking testimony of the way Irish priests were trained in penal times. (JOHN E. SEXTON)

SABINE, GEORGE H. *A History of Political Theory.* [American Political Science Series.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. xvi, 797. $4.00.) Political theory in action and in books—institutions and ideas—to these Professor Sabine has attempted to give equal treatment in this latest "long range" view of Western political theory. Beginning with the City State and political thought before Plato, he nas traced in concise fashion changing political ideas up to and including the outstanding phenomena of the present day, Communism and Fascism. He has divided his study into

three parts, the theory of the City State, of the Universal Community and of the National State. The section devoted to political theory in the national state fills much more than half the volume, and is considerably longer than the space devoted to the other two sections combined. This perhaps is as it should be in a book written for modern consumption, yet it seems to give to current political movements an historical importance that remains to be demonstrated. A selected bibliography at the end of each of the thirty-four chapters is a convenient adjunct. The book has an index. (JOHN J. MENG)

SCHACHNER, NATHAN. *The Medieval Universities.* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1938. Pp. viii, 388. $3.50.) In the second paragraph of the first chapter the author asserts that the Church was a heritage from the declining days of the Roman Empire, "when the Bishop of Rome was but one of many bishops of equal rank and weight." By reason of a series of historical accidents, he continues, "the superior shrewdness and energy of the Roman pontiffs, and the happy discovery, at a most propitious moment, of the forged decretals of the pseudo-Isidore, the papacy became the head and font of Catholicism." In the second chapter, devoted to eleventh-century learning, we learn that the studies of the *Quadrivium* were a snare and a sham. Scholastic philosophy was merely a great game, having its inception with Platonic and Aristotelian rags and tags. The monasteries became moribund and were a negligible factor in the rise of the universities. The third chapter informs us that Bernard of Clairvaux was sainted for his die-hard, stick-in-the-mud attitude on theology and for the savage vehemence with which he defended it. Chapter nine asserts that the medieval Church paid no taxes yet somehow managed to mulct all Christendom of almost fabulous revenues. Chapter ten bemoans the fact that the influence of Aristotle was pernicious—that he did more than any other man in the history of the world to retard the progress of civilization. Chapter twenty-three contains the illuminating bit of information that the Dominicans reached England before the Franciscans and established their particular brand of fanaticism more strongly at Oxford, but that they were intellectually sterile. Mr. Schachner has brought together a considerable amount of interesting and valuable material on the universities; but he writes medieval history with a jibe and a sneer. The inner spirit and the genuine accomplishments of the period, particularly in the field of education, seem to have escaped him completely. (JOHN J. O'CONNER)

SISTER M. EDMUND (SPANHEIMER). *The Letters of Henrich Armin Rattermann to the German-American Poet-Priest John E. Rothensteiner.* (Joliet, Ill. 1938. Pp. x, 160.) This book is a very welcome supplement to the author's doctoral dissertation *Heinrich Armin Rattermann, German-American Author, Poet & Historian, 1832-1923,* published last year. It contains 42 letters, addressed to Father John E. Rothensteiner, the German-American poet-priest, better known from his two volumes *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* and his many historical Essays. When the mutual correspondence started, Rattermann possessed with the German-Americans for more than two decades the reputation as their foremost critic, their outstanding historical

essayist and as a man of an almost incredible initiative. To him Rothensteiner—a newcomer on the field of poetry—in 1903 had sent his first lyric poetical work *Hoffnung und Errinnerung* for critical examination. With his answer, beginning "You are a God favored poet", between these two men, unequal in character and philosophy of life initiated the interchange of fruitful ideas, the outcome of which we partly find in these pages. It is only to be regretted that the author does not present us with the letters of the gifted partner; we would have before us the picture of two great German-Americans, striving for the preservation of the cultural gifts of their race to this country. The letters give a perfect characterization of their writer. R. at that time a man of 70 years, had lost most of his literary friends. In his newly found "Brother in Apoll", as he styles himself in nearly all his letters, he discovered a sensible, highly talented poet, desirous of learning, and at the same time of cultivated poetical judgment. Before him he opened his heart and spread out his ideas. Many of R's letters read like essays on linguistics, poetry and poets. We admire therein his extremely wide knowledge and his straightforwardness in judging the German-American poets, writers and critics of that period, as well as his condemning the contemporary French and Norwegian authors and their blind followers in Germany. We deeply regret that this man, favored with the friendship of a highly intellectual, mild and saintly priest, and with a religious foundation and an upright esteem for the Church in himself, did not find back the way to the faith of his childhood. With his last letters to Rothensteiner with their pathetic requests of further friendship for the blind octogenarian, the correspondence after 12 years breaks off with Dec. 19, 1915, Rattermann still lived eight more years totally blind, but devoted to his beloved Muse up to his end.—The author gives as an introduction to the letters a synoptical sketch of Rattermann's life and work, based upon her above named book. May she follow soon with an edition of Rothensteiner's letters to make better known his significance as a productive poet himself and as the best interpreter and translator of German poetry.—To the ample notes, it may be remarked, that Hammer is called twice the first Catholic German-American poet, and Henni once; the honor should be given to the latter. Page 146: Rothensteiner's birthday was not Jan. 7, 1860, as he himself believed for years but Jan. 21, according to the Baptismal Register. An Index would have been greatly appreciated. (GEORGE TIMPLE)

STEIDLE, BASILIUS. *Patrologia, seu historia antiquae litteraturae ecclesiasticae scholarum usui accommodata.* (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder. 1937. Pp. xviii, 294. $2.50.) A more useful manual could not have been compiled for the student of patristic literature. After some introductory remarks on patrology and an index of the signs and abbreviations used in the book, Father Steidle in the simplest of Latin reviews the Fathers, both eastern and western, from the Apostolic Age through the seventh century. About most of them there is a brief biography and a succinct statement of contributions and characteristics. Accompanying each of these accounts is a general bibliography of editions and translations, unfortunately not critical. When a Father has written in many fields, his works are classified, eg., apologetic, dogmatic, polemical, ascetical, historical, etc. The titles listed under such headings are often critically noticed

as to the purpose, content and significance, and reference made to editions, translations and pertinent literature. A fourth part is primarily concerned with historical travel; the hagiographical, liturgical, hymnological and juridical phases of patristic literature, and collections of canons and *apocrypha*. In a field so replete with monographic and general works, titles had to be carefully selected. Few of importance appear to have been missed, eg., Robinson's translation of *Eugippii Vita Severini* in the *Harvard Translations*, Krüger's, *History of Early Christian Literature* which, of course, this work easily supplants. It was a pleasure to note that the items in the Patristic series of the Catholic University of America were cited. Misprints occur in the case of English works, but they are not numerous or of any importance. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

TANSILL, CHARLES CALLAN. *The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873. A Chapter in Caribbean Diplomacy.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. x, 487. $3.50.) This thoroughly documented and excellently written volume is a worthy successor to Dr. Tansill's *Purchase of the Danish West Indies*. Both works may be considered definitive contributions to the history of American policy in the Caribbean area. An introductory chapter of the present volume outlines American commercial contacts with the Caribbean area before and immediately after the establishment of the federal union. The remaining nine chapters trace in greater detail American diplomatic contacts with Santo Domingo from the administration of John Adams through that of Ulysses S. Grant. Special treatment is accorded to the outstanding features of that diplomacy, among them the American reaction to a British attempt to control Haiti in 1798-99, U. S. relations with France during Jefferson's administration, Seward's policy towards Santo Domingo, and Grant's imperialistic designs upon the island. The lesser phases of American diplomatic contacts with Santo Domingo receive also their due share of attention. (JOHN J. MENG)

TARN, W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. 539. $8.00.) This is an epoch-making book. As Professor Tarn states in his preface, "No Greek historian has yet attempted to handle the subject as a connected whole or to put it in its right place as a lost chapter of Hellenistic history." Making the most of a widely scattered and difficult source material (including even Chinese documents), he has said all that can be said to date on the Greeks in India from Alexander to the middle of the second century B.C. In the light of the evidence presented, we must now consider the Greek Kingdom in the Farther East a true Hellenistic monarchy, whose history is not merely a part of the story of India but very definitely belongs to the history of Hellenism. In a long excursus and in twenty-one appendices the author deals at length with his sources and with special problems. The book contains one plate of coin-portraits, a genealogical table, three maps, and an excellent index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

TEMPERLEY, HAROLD W. V. and LILLIAN M. PENSON. *A Century of Diplomatic Blue Books, 1814-1914. Lists edited with historical Introductions.*

(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xx, 600. $10.00.) British state papers on foreign affairs laid before Parliament and published are referred to in common parlance as "Blue Books". The dates of publication of these papers are seldom recorded on the papers themselves, although they are of great importance to historians as well as to the general public. This volume lists the titles of Foreign Office Blue Books from Castlereagh to Grey, together with the dates on which they were laid before Parliament. It includes as well certain other valuable features such as the methods by which particular papers were laid, and historical notes on the Blue Book policies of the various Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs. There emerge from the data here collected certain interesting conclusions, one among them being that as a more democratic era in British government developed, there grew up some important restrictions upon the publication of materials relating to foreign affairs. The volume will be found an invaluable *Wegweiser* for the student of British foreign policy. (JOHN J. MENG)

TEMPERLEY, HAROLD, and PENSON, LILLIAN M. (Eds.). *Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902) or documents, old and new.* (Cambridge: at The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxx, 573. $7.50.) "This volume represents a selection by the Editors of unpublished and published documents dealing with foreign affairs, from the rise of the Younger Pitt to the death of Salisbury" (p. xxvii). All types of documents are included in this book, being drawn from private and public collections, and archives. They are presented with the intention of illustrating specifically the British point of view in foreign affairs—and succeed admirably in so doing. Each document is introduced by a short note explaining its significance and summarizing the policy which it represents. The editors have furthermore included additional sources for other related materials. The volume is well-arranged for practical reference use. (JOHN J. MENG)

TIMMERMANS, R. *Heroes of the Alcazar.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. 215. $2.50.) The defense of the Alcazar with the holding of Seville against the Reds will always remain two of the most stirring epics of the Spanish Civil War. Indeed, the story of Spain's military academy during seventy-two days of siege will live for a long time in the history of military affairs. Neither will it be easily forgotten in the annals of courageous deeds. This account by Timmermans is a simple story from the lips of those who took part in that great event. Major Yeats Brown, who writes the introduction, says that the exploits recounted in this book are "a symbol of the spirit of man triumphant over things of steel." Unfortunately, it has no index, but it does contain the English version, by Pedro de Zulueta, of "The Hymn of the Alcazar". (JOSEPH B. CODE)

TOURSCHER, FRANCIS E. *Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia with some records of the Austin Friars in the United States.* (Philadelphia: The Peter Reilly Co. 1937. Pp. 261. $2.00.) Father Tourscher has gathered from scattered sources facts not only of a general interest at the present time but ones which will be of value to the future historians of the Augustinians in the

United States. And yet this book is more than the history of one parish or the story of a group of men for the past one hundred and fifty years. It is the record of an ever changing picture of laity as well as clergy, a cross-section of a great city which has played so important part in the history of the American church. Father Tourscher has drawn upon the letters of Father John Rosseter, "Superior of the House" at St. Mary's, Philadelphia, from 1799 to 1808; the Sacramental Records at St. Paul's, Brooklyn, St. Patrick's Verplank, St. Peter's in New York, St. Augustine's Chapel in South Boston, and the archives at Villanova. There are several useful appendices, a table of contents and an index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

TROCHU, CHANOINE FRANÇOIS. *Le Serviteur de Dieu—Siméon Francois Berneux.* (Paris: Bonne Presse. 1937. Pp. 182.) This book which comes from the pen of the author of the Life of the Curé of Ars deals with the life of Siméon Francois Berneux, Bishop of Capsé, who was martyred in Corea in 1866. This is perhaps the best book thus far published in the collection *Idéalistes et Animateurs.* The missionary struggles and interior joys of the bishop are so well depicted that he does not become a glacial figure as is often the case in biographies of saints. As one closes the book one feels that the words of Tertullian, "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians," apply here. It is hoped that this well-written book will inspire others to follow in the steps of Berneux in the missionary field. (LEON BAISIER)

VERHOFSTAD, D., S.J. *De Regeering der Nederlanden in de Jaren: 1555-1559.* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij J. J. Merkhout. 1937. Pp. xvi, 201.) Within the space of 200 pages Father Verhofstad has succeeded beyond all question in presenting a vast quantity of historical erudition and at the same time a very readable book. The first impression it gives is one of historical continuity of thought, another is its charm of style. Although there is no question of romanticising Holland's sixteenth century, no confusing the decorative with true historical values, yet, the story unfolds with an arresting artistry altogether unusual in a work of this kind. *De Regeering Der Nederlanden* includes a valuable discussion of Alva's taxation measures, such as the much contended "*tiende penning.*" Ordinarily this taxation subject is treated without sufficient consideration being given to the sixteenth century's taxation politics as existing in the Netherlands; here we find the point at issue handled in a truly masterly way. Father Verhofstad's book is not only full of information, but also full of little surprises. We find, for instance, that the author emphatically denies the generally accepted opinion that the Netherlands' high nobility, especially Karel van Lalaing and Orange, in the taxation battle took sides with the *Staten.* And, what is more, his arguments are entirely convincing. The publishers are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work. (L. D.)

WILLIAM, FRANZ MICHEL. *Mary, the Mother of Jesus.* (St. Louis: Herder. 1938. Pp. vii, 352. $3.00.) This book is neither a mere expansion of the Gospel text which deals with Mary's life, nor it is a collection of devotional, but legendary, tales about the Mother of God. Rather, it represents a scholarly

correlation of the few facts found in the New Testament with the customs, habits, beliefs and traditions of Jewish women of Our Lady's time. Father William, using the Gospels as a base, has carefully and patiently built a more nearly adequate picture of the Mother of Christ. Her story is presented according as her life is affected by the supreme fact of her being the instrument by which Christ was brought into the world. The author, by explaining the Jewish attitude of that time in regard to vows, virginity, messianic expectations and various other pertinent questions, clarifies many facts which too often remain obscure. Historical and social questions are considered without neglecting or minimizing the theological. The rôle of biographer is the one assumed by the author, who avoids, without evasiveness, theological and scriptural controversies. The author closely follows the sources. The facts and the suppositions are clearly distinguished, and no room is left for doubt as to where one ends and the other begins. Patient research is very evident in the amassing of the evidence which brings more light to bear on Mary's position. The format of the book is pleasing, and an adequate index is appended. This work is a contribution to Mariology, and can be of great devotional and educational benefit to clerics and laymen. Any book which has power to stimulate devotion to Mary and to increase our knowledge of her is eminently worthwhile, and this book does precisely that. (W. J. S.)

ZWIERLEIN, FREDERICK J., D.Sc.M.H. (Louvain). *Reformation Studies.* (Rochester, New York: The Art Print Shop. 1938. Pp. 166.) The five studies that compose this work are (1) Martin Luther on Sin and Good Works; (2) The Temptations of Martin Luther; (3) John Calvin's *Institutes*; (4) The Delay in Henry VIII's Divorce Trial; (5) Sacrifice and Transsubstantiation in England's Ancient Liturgy of the Mass. All, except the last one, have been printed repeatedly in pamphlet form for private use. All, likewise, justify the rather colorless title *Reformation Studies* except the last. In the fourth study the author proves satisfactorily that the long delays in the divorce trial of Henry VIII were due largely, if not wholly, to the machinations of the king himself. The brief study on Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is rather a study of the prefatory letter and seems to be intended chiefly to controvert the evidence for that "'noble enthusiasm for freedom' that Calvin evidenced on this occasion", of which Dr. Fairbairn speaks in the *Cambridge Modern History.* A study of the famous book itself would require a much longer and more laborious essay. By far the most interesting of these studies are the two on Luther. Basing himself on the self-evident principle that "Martin Luther must be understood in the terminology of his own system", the author tries to prove that neither logically nor theologically can Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone be accused of antinomianism. In his reaction to popular polemics his thesis takes him too far. Psychologically that doctrine had precisely that effect on Luther himself. Dr. Zwierlein has not succeeded in explaining away Luther's "*pecca fortiter, sed crede fortius*". The other study, on the temptations of Martin Luther, is replete with pathetic details giving us an insight into the psychosis of Luther during the years 1531-1534. Most of these temptations which he assigned unhesitatingly to the devil as to their source were nothing else than the voice of his once Catholic con-

science protesting against his course, his teaching, his double apostasy and so on. The author bases his researches almost exclusively on original sources, mainly on the words of Luther himself. The references are given at the end of every study. There is no topical index, and no detailed table of contents. The work would be useful not only to historians, but also to apologists, theologians and preachers. (A. BELLWALD)

MACKINNEY, LOREN CAREY. *The Civilization of the Western World.* Vol. II. *The Medieval World.* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1938. Pp. xi, 801. $3.75.) This volume presents a judicious survey of the changing civilization of Western Europe through a period of almost fifteen hundred years. Professor Wallace E. Caldwell contributes an eighty-one page introduction to the ancient world. Professor MacKinney then carries the story forward to the opening of the sixteenth century, striking an admirable balance between extremes of political narrative and institutional or cultural description. Utilizing the findings of recent historical scholarship, he challenges the prevailing opinion of bygone days that the Germanic invasions obliterated Roman civilization in the West, and that the Carolingian Renaissance was a period of intellectual brilliance in the midst of a long dark age, rather than a concentration and speeding up of the cultural life that had continued to exist in various regional centers after the disintegration of the Western Empire. So superior were conditions during the late medieval centuries that a definite distinction is properly made between them and the early Middle Ages. Although writing in a spirit of fairness to the Church, Professor MacKinney frequently shows a lack of complete understanding of medieval Catholicism. The monasteries, he declares, were under the domination of orthodox theology and therefore the freedom of thought and expression "which makes for cultural progress" was badly hampered. He cannot understand why Innocent III was not canonized for his political statesmanship while a tenth-century monk of St. Gall apparently achieved this honor for his remarkable musical sequences. He admits the possibility that St. Francis of Assisi may have been mentally unbalanced during the period when he renounced the world, and regards the decreé of the Council of Constance, which claimed that the council was superior to the pope, as the Church's Great Charter, ushering in, perhaps, a new day of enlightened parliamentary government. In the chapter on the Rise of Christianity, he regards St. John the Baptist as a "more radical" reformer than Christ, St. Paul as the founder of a new sect or denomination, the "cult" of the Virgin Mary as proof positive that Catholic Christianity was strongly influenced by the goddess religion of the Orient, and the Church as merely the result of a gradual merging of numerous independent regional churches into a unified organization. The book contains thirty-five illustrations, twenty maps, chronological tables, an adequate bibliography and an index. (JOHN J. O'CONNOR)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

God in History. Ernest F. Tittle (*Christendom*, December).
The Materialistic Interpretation of History. Gilbert J. Garraghan (*Thought*, March).
The Crocean View of History. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., (*Modern Schoolman*, March).
The Pope Indomitable: Pius XI, 1857-1939. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. (*Catholic World*, March).
Pius XI: the Scholar. Philip Hughes (*Tablet*, February 18).
St. Basil the Great. E. A. Ryan, S.J. (*Missionary*, January).
Some Key-Passages in St. Patrick's Confession Misinterpreted. James Veale (*Ecclesiastical Review*, March).
Biblical Spirit in Mediaeval German Law. Guido Kisch (*Speculum*, January).
Eckstein [Symbolism of the corner-stone]. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (*Ibid.*).
Chaucer's Symbolic Plowman. Joe Harrell (*Ibid.*).
Les miracles dans la vie de saint Augustin. P. De Vooght (*Recherches de théologie*, January).
Les théories du péché originel au XIIe siècle: I. L'école d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux. O. Lottin (*Ibid.*).
Mediaevalia: Udo und Magister Martinus. A. Landgraf (*Ibid.*).
La discipline pénitentielle d'après les écrits de saint Cyprien. Fr. Marie-Clement Chartier, O.F.M. (*Antonianum*, January).
Le problème de Pélage sous son dernier état. G. de Plinval (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, January).
Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine. B. Capelle, O.S.B. (*Ibid.*).
Le "Breviarium Fidei" contre les ariens, produit de l'atelier de Césaire d'Arles? G. Morin, O.S.B. (*Ibid.*).
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